

# THE HUMAN FAMILY AND INDIA

THE RE-SHAPING OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

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NOTE. This book is based upon the first two of a series of four Extension Lectures, delivered in Trivandrum, under the auspices of the Government of Travancore, in August 1936, and upon Extension Lectures, delivered at the Hindu University of Benares and the Universities of Calcutta and Patna, in the beginning of 1937.



“We realize that it is before all things useful to associate our ways of life, to bind ourselves together with such bonds as are most fitted to gather us all into unity, and generally to do whatsoever will serve to strengthen friendship.”

SPINOZA.



## INTRODUCTION

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MUCH of the trouble in our present world is due to groups of people blaming other groups for the imperfections of life. Population classes are blaming other population classes for economic and social deficiencies. Nations are blaming other nations for very much the same reasons and in addition for each others' supposedly faulty and consequently dangerous political doctrines.

In East and West, the poison of class hatred and communal jealousy is undermining the rock upon which human society is based, misguided nationalism is endangering the balance of peace. What is at the root of all this ? In India, there is a good deal of communal friction, caste jealousy and religious discord preventing national unity.

Words like "capitalism", "aristocracy", and in India words like "Varna-asrama-dharma" (duty and vocation in society and

in stages of life) and "Varna-samkara" (confusion of natural classes) are certain to rouse many different kinds of reactions, ranging between satisfaction or even worship and utter disapproval and disgust.

Modern man is a very intelligent animal as far as his comforts and pleasures are concerned. As soon, however, as social (including political) questions are at stake, he proves himself to be a mere tool of his emotions and almost incapable of objective thinking. From injustices or unkindness suffered at the hands of one person, he straightaway develops a prejudice against that person's family, community, race, political party, religion or nationality. Prejudice is a fertile weed, since it grows from a seed of one person's experience and is watered by the imagination of many. It also implies lack of insight into the organic composition of humanity.

The prejudices are directed against social groups or classes, against nations, against a caste system, against particular religions, against certain "Isms", and even against words and phrases. Persons connected with those labels have to suffer

under them. It is necessary that a stronger appeal be made to people by leaders and scholars to study the social problems dispassionately and from all possible aspects, or, in other words, scientifically. Particularly in India there is much need for it, for India is both a breeding-ground of the most serious social problems and a vast museum of sociological tit-bits of much socializing value.

Would it not be possible to explain the words and phrases of contention in such a manner that they might satisfy mind and feelings of the various persons reacting to them so differently? Of course this would be possible! But it is only possible by forgetting all subjective relations to these terms, by trying to see them, as it were, for the first time, and by testing them by the methods of modern sociology. *Truth* is the only test which we may and which it is our duty to apply to them, even as it is the only test to which we have to subject all things, both of our individual and our collective, of our personal and our social life. The often bitter or unpleasant truth may not prevent

us from changing our views or the course of our actions. We must have the courage to look truth in the eye — not to close our eyes for fear of being blinded by its light. We must have the courage of manhood to face truth, and then to do what we see is its decree and to go to the last consequences in action. We may lose our hold for a moment, we may feel uncertain or weak, as a result, we may be hurt, or even feel as if the ground has been taken from underneath our feet — yet if we but hold to Truth steadfastly, Truth herself will come and uphold us. For Truth is the one and ultimate upholder of all things. Eventually in the life of man only Truth will remain. All images, all traditions, all man-made usages, all sects, all beliefs, all superstitions, in short, all forms will eventually disappear before the light of Truth.

Now all this sounds very dramatic — and sometimes it may also be dramatic. But very often — and we may thank God for this — very often it is humorous. When I was a young student, some wise person once said to me . “Don’t forget



now and then to look into the mirror and to laugh at yourself!" I have followed the advice. I have often looked and laughed at myself. Most of all after I imagined I had done something good. At first I had to compel myself to, but gradually it came all naturally, and I began to see the ridiculous side of my superstitions, prejudices and vanities. Of the latter most of all. Then I began to bless the mirror, and to think it was a wonderful invention! Every time I went away from the mirror, I felt somewhat relieved of some of those weaknesses. Even at this feeling I laughed. Really, it is most amusing to see what we look like in truth, our dignity seems to fall away, and we see such a distorted, such a very amusing caricature of what we imagined ourselves to be! But at the last look before we go, we behold something of a deeper dignity, we have a glimpse of the only true dignity, that of a personality purified from little personal things and freed from crutches.

Then I began to do this in an inner way. I tried to hold up my personal life

before Truth as a mirror. But not only that, I held before the glass of Truth all that I was interested in — other people, human inventions and institutions, man-made things of various kinds. When we do this, the result is at the same time tragic and comic. We see suffering on account of the bondage due to vanity, selfishness, intolerance and fanaticism. At the same time we see laughter at the bottom of it. It is all the while as if some inner Man is laughing at all our manifestations of ignorance and weakness. This fundamental laughter is one of the blessings of life. It makes life much easier. It really makes all things most enjoyable. It is not a personal pleasure, it is not laughter at the expense of somebody else. It is constructive, life-giving laughter. So what we have to do is to face Truth, and drive away the tears of pain and disillusionment by the sunshine of laughter.

A comparative study of the various aspects — theoretical, ideal and actual — of Hindu society side by side with the

Western social system yields most interesting results. In this book, in which I have tried to express everything in as simple a form as possible, evading technicalities, only some food for thought and study can be given. It is a tremendous subject, and I can only tackle the main points, referring for several technical details and proof of theorems to my book "Dharma and Society".

Wonderfully enough one can arrive at valuable conclusions not only as regards social life in India, but also as regards various social and political problems of the Western world. In fact, the social science of ancient India complemented by modern thought provides the key to the solution of various social and political world-problems (which are, therefore, also Indian problems). All depends upon whether man will care to understand and to act in accordance.

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# THE HUMAN FAMILY AND INDIA

## CHAPTER I

### ANCIENT HINDU SOCIAL THEORIES AND MODERN SOCIOLOGY

**H**OW is it possible that caste is at one and the same time damned as a thoroughly anti-social and appraised as a most exalted human institution? Every student of Indian social problems will often have had occasion to be astonished at the diversity and contrast of opinions on caste. The same applies to some extent to particular classes and political parties in the West.

There can only be one explanation, since so many of the opinions both for and against are of equally honest and intelligent people. The various writers on caste mean by that word different things altogether. Orthodox pandits, historians, philosophers and modern reformers tend to use each their particular terminology

and they do not understand each other, because they speak as it were different languages. Some speak about "caste" as social theory, some as social ideal, some as social practice in some particular period of history, some as the social constitution of the present time.

When dealing with any problem however we cannot afford to neglect any of these aspects, either through carelessness or prejudice born of faulty understanding or unconscious fear.

Part of the confusion is due to terms (as is always the case) and for this reason, as I have argued elsewhere, it would be well for everybody to take it that *Varna* (natural or cultural class) applies to social theory and ideal, and *caste* to social practice (in India and in countries like South Africa and America) and that both are in many ways directly opposed.

All the time we are considering social problems, we must be careful to distinguish clearly between the facts as they are, the facts as they should be, the facts as

*we* want them to be, the facts as we *think* they are, and the facts as we *think* they should be. A great deal of misunderstanding and wrangling between students of various sciences and adherents of various doctrines is due to a confusion of those five categories.

Sociology is not an "exact science". The real facts and the complete chain of causes and effects we can never know in full. History and descriptive sociology will always present only part of the picture. The facts as they should be we can never express in full. The things as *we* want them to be do not count at all scientifically. Thus we have to work most of all with the things as we think they are and as we deem they should be.

The tremendous importance of the social issues and the pressure of circumstances require that even more care is taken in sociology than in the exact sciences. Objectivity combined with universal sympathy, freedom from prejudice combined with a critical attitude and sharpness are essential.

The ancient Hindu theory of the "four natural classes" (Chaturvarnya) did not apply only to Hindu society in ancient days. The old Hindu sages who devoted their thought to social life were far wiser than we now think. After a critical study of the ancient Hindu theory and ideals of class, I have come to the conclusion that we must pay the theory of Chaturvarnya the compliment of looking upon it as a universal class theory. It is certain that the Hindu sages looked upon it like that. In various Puranas<sup>1</sup> in which all the continents of this world and their peoples were described, it was stated most emphatically that among all those peoples there was a fourfold division of class corresponding to that of the four natural classes in India (Varnas). The impression of universality we gain also from, for instance, the Gita<sup>2</sup> and the Bhagavata-purana<sup>3</sup>. Many writers also stress the universality of the theory of Varna, as, *e.g.*, Dr. Ketkar, who goes as far as to

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1 As, *e.g.*, Vishnu-purana IV, II.

2 Bhagavat-gita XVIII, 41-71

3 Bhagavata-purana VII, II.



stress that there was really no Hindu-dharma, but only Manava-dharma, Dharma of man<sup>1</sup>. "Varna" as well as "Dharma" are, of course, both universal principles, they were discoveries and not inventions of the Hindus. Neither conception can very well be considered apart from the other. Various ancient nations knew Dharma in its fundamental aspect<sup>2</sup>. The Jews knew it as *Tsedaka*, the Greeks as *Dike*, the Romans realized it probably in the early conception of *Fas*, the Chinese knew it as *Tch*. This last word is even related to the word Dharma.

To "Hindu dharma", however, as well as for instance to "English dharma" or "Chinese dharma" must also be given a place. It is not universal dharma, neither is it mere Hindu common law and custom, but in the organic world relation it is the special cultural contribution of Hinduism to the culture of the world.

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<sup>1</sup> S. V. Ketkar, "An Essay on Hinduism", pp. 11-13, 29.

<sup>2</sup> See G. H. Mees, "Dharma and Society", pp. 39-48. Dharma is fundamentally the primeval norm, presiding over duty and vocation, the fundamental socializing and even cosmic urge.

“Hindu Dharma” can be seen only in an international light. For Hindus *in* India there is only Manava-dharma (human dharma) which is exactly the name as that of Englishmen in England or of Chinese in China.

To return to the Varna-theory as a universal theory, it is interesting that even the fourfold hierarchical division is a universal phenomenon. In ancient as well as in modern civilizations there is a fundamental fourfold class-division into 1. labour classes, 2. middle classes, and 3. “higher” classes, consisting of mainly two groups, one of higher Government servants and business magnates and the other of the educational classes and the priesthood. Even in Soviet Russia four classes are again recognized: Peasants, Soldiers, Intellectual workers and Manual workers. Most of the theories of class, therefore, propound the existence of four basic classes in human society.

The ancient Persians (Iranians) had four classes which corresponded to the four classes of the ancient Hindus. Also

many other ancient civilizations had a social division of four classes. Of the more important of the theories of class outside of the Hindu theory which we shall consider last we have to mention the theories of Plato and Aristotle. Plato compared the state to the human soul, Aristotle more appropriately compared the state to the human body. This is the organic picture of society to which I shall revert at length. Both saw four fundamental classes. Sometimes five, but then the two lowest could easily be taken as one.

The great Abul Fazl in the wonderful introduction to his "Ain-i-Akbari", perhaps inspired by Hindu teachings, perhaps by Plato or Aristotle, perhaps by both, also divides society into four classes. I should like to quote his words in Blochmann's translation: "By means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body, and the people of the world may be divided into four classes: 1. *Warriors*, who in the political body have the nature of fire. Their flames, directed

by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances. 2. *Artificers and Merchants*, who hold the place of air. From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose-tree of life. 3. *The Learned*, such as the philosopher, the physician, the arithmetician, the geometrician, the astronomer, who resemble water. From their pen and their wisdom a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives a peculiar freshness from their irrigating powers. 4, *Husbandmen and Labourers*, who may be compared to earth. By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection, and strength and happiness flow from their work. It is, therefore, obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with a due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish. 'The grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men.'

This is not only expressed most beautifully and poetically, but it presents also a clear scientific picture, and it agrees remarkably with the theory of the four natural classes, except that the hierarchical order has not been adhered to.

A hundred years ago there was a German called Adam Mueller, who presented a doctrine with a religious basis, of four classes similar to those I just mentioned. His classes were: 1. The clergy, including the teaching classes. 2. The nobility, consisting of landed-proprietors and including the military class. 3. The class of those occupied in business, traffic, and intercourse, and 4. The class of those occupied in industry and productive labour. He called them in German, perhaps to remember them more easily, in a playful impulse: *Lehrstand*, *Wehrstand*, *Verkehrstand* and *Naeherstand*, "stand" meaning class. This scholar had probably never heard of Varnas, but he drew his own conclusions from his observation of society.

This division into four classes can easily be explained by regarding the

all-inclusiveness of the functions of the four groups of men in the organic unity. There are four main groups of human beings, distinguishable according to their Dharma. If we consider these four groups, we shall see that they include all possible human specialists. These are:

1. Persons with a productive task (in agriculture, mining, industry, arts and crafts, and in the home);

2. Persons with a distributive task (in business, traffic, and intercourse),

3. Persons with a regulative task (including persons with legislative and executive powers and business magnates);

4. Persons with an educational task (including all persons concerned with the guidance and education of their fellow-men, involving their psychological unfoldment, and all persons who study truth, as the higher type of scientist and also the true mystic. This group thus includes the teacher, the religious guide, the philosopher, the scientist, the physician, the psychoanalyst, the judge, etc. The true artist also belongs to this group, for he creates

out of inspiration and inner necessity, and not to supply a demand).

Thus the four groups are: 1. Productive. 2. Distributive. 3. Regulative, and 4. Intellectual-spiritual.

If we compare those four groups with the four Varnas, we see that they cover each other almost completely.

What is the main function of every one of the four groups in relation to the others? It is service. Each serves society by its particular capacities. Civilization is founded upon mutual service. Service is the performing of one's Dharma. One class serves with its hands, another class serves with its brain. There is only one organ with which *all* natural classes serve : the heart. All serve with their heart.

Here we have arrived at the organic picture of society. The human community may be compared to a human body. Every class represents a particular organ or member of this body, and every individual represents a cell in an organ. Every cell does its duty and contributes.

to the well-being of the whole body. If some cells become diseased, there arises a boil which causes pain to the organ and through that to the person. If an organ begins to lose contact with the whole and works exclusively for its own benefit, forgetting the well-being of the whole, it becomes a cancerous tumour endangering the life of the whole. At various times in the world's history some class of persons became such a cancerous tumour endangering the continuation of culture. Whether it is a ruling class which begins to exploit the other classes, whether it is a class of manual workers which wants to bring to all men the standards of manual workers, it is equally wrong; for a healthy and normal society consists of all four classes working in harmonious co-operation and carefully keeping only to their own province of social contribution. One cannot think with one's feet or speak with one's ears. The stomach is not meant for a store-house, and if it tries to become one, the person dies. The same applies to society.



Only the heart is a universal organ, for it brings the life-blood to all organs and forms the connecting link between them. The heart recognizes only the equality of all organs, and it sends blood indiscriminately to feet, hands and head. The heart makes no distinctions. Probably for that reason the heart, which is the central organ of the body, has become a symbol for the heart-plexus, the psychic centre of spirituality and humanity, situated just inside the spinal chord above the heart organ.

This brings us to a very important point. It is clear that in the healthy body the organs are situated hierarchically. Socially there is the hierarchy of the four natural classes, and if we consider the composition of society, we get a vertical picture as well as if we look at a human body. This means that there will always be social differences, and an ideal of human equality is *socially* impossible. Social equality is as impossible as a body in which every organ is a stomach or every organ a brain.

Human equality, however, is a matter of the heart. In the heart all persons are equal. As spiritual entities, as souls, there is no distinction between them. Democracy is fundamentally a mystic ideal. All movements propagating human equality were in their origin, before class-selfishness or the dark side of mass-psychology came in, movements of the heart, of the spirit. As *political* movements they are bound to fail, as *intellectual* enterprises they are faulty. It is extremely important that this point should be clearly realized again by modern man. At the present time people are as yet intensely confused as to the problems of equality and inequality, they will have to learn to distinguish clearly again between the social organic *inequality* and the spiritual *equality* of men, between the vertical picture of society and the horizontal picture of humanity.

Inequality is the law of society. "‘To everybody according to his works’, such is the great social rule, the inequality of conditions rests solely on the difference

between the individual merits of people and between the services rendered by them<sup>1</sup>."

In accordance with this, it is in the interest of the community and also fair to the individual that equality of opportunity be given, of course within sensible limits, especially in the earlier stages of life, so that every person may come into the place which is his by tendency and capacity, or, in other words, that his actual place in society may correspond to his "Varna" or natural class.

In Hinduism as an established system there is also some confusion between the social inequality and the spiritual equality. As regards untouchability in particular the spiritual equality of man does not seem to be sufficiently realized in practical Hinduism. In the philosophical works and in the Dharmasastras, however, the essential spiritual equality of men — and of men and women — is often expressed<sup>2</sup>. Equality of opportunity has been

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. Letourneau, *La sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> See G. H. Mees, "Dharma and Society" pp. 153-159.

completely lost in the caste-system, but regained to some extent under the influence of Western social and political factors.

It is a great merit of Islam that it distinguishes clearly between the principle of social inequality and spiritual equality of men, and strongly upholds the latter. If a great prince goes to the mosque, he may sit side by side with a sweeper. No distinction is made. But in Islam the spiritual-social equality of women is not sufficiently realized, though the place of woman in the organism of the family in itself is well understood. It was a great merit of Christianity in the first centuries to uphold spiritual equality, both among men, and of men and women, and to stress the value of the individual. Even now it is a strong point of Christianity, though in parts of India old customs have proved too strong and the flock in the churches is divided in high caste and untouchable sheep, or even in white and black sheep. In America in some places it is similar as regards whites and negroes. So it seems that all the established religions are failing in some way or other,

but Hinduism most, as regards the practical recognition of spiritual equality, though the recent opening of the temples in Travancore by H. H. the Maharaja to untouchables is highly gratifying and promising, and may well mark the beginning of a new epoch in Hindu culture. Buddhism probably fails least in recognizing equality in religious practice.

For a healthy society it is vitally important that no section of the people should regard another section as inferior, and all idealist movements propagating brotherhood are extremely useful. Extremely useful, as long as the social organic inequality is not lost sight of. Brotherhood and only brotherhood can be the link between the various classes and groups of men, to make them work and strive for the common good in healthy co-operation, as the heart in propelling the blood through all the organs and members ensures the well-being of the whole body.

The organic picture of society is not a modern one. I already mentioned Aristotle, who compared the state with

the human body. In a more mystical way we find the Gnostic conception of the Cosmic Christ, a giant divine Man, of whose limbs all men form part. In the Untitled Apocalypse of the Gnostics we read: "He it is whose limbs (members) make a myriad of myriads of powers, each one of which comes from Him." The Pistis Sophia, an important Gnostic treatise, gives: "Come unto us, for we are thy fellow-limbs. We are all one with thee." Origen wrote: "As our body while consisting of human members is yet held together by one soul, so the universe is to be thought of as an immense living being which is held together by one soul, the power of the logos, God."<sup>1</sup> In the Idra-Souata and the Zohar, books of the ancient Cabalists, we find many references to the "Ancient of Ancients" which give the same picture of a Cosmic Man. Much more known is the Hindu conception of the Cosmic Man, the Purusha.

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<sup>1</sup> In more recent times we also find the same conception. Of great interest are for instance William Blake's ideas: "The Eternal Body of Man is the Imagination: that is God himself, the Divine Body, Jesus. We are his members."

In the eleventh Chapter of the Gita, the Lord says to Arjuna: "Behold in this body of mine the entire Universe together with all that is moving and unmoving, and whatever else thou desirest to perceive."<sup>1</sup> And Arjuna says to Him: "O God, in Thy body I see all the gods as well as multitudes of all kinds of beings."<sup>2</sup> In the Bhagavata-purana we read. "On the disposition of the limbs of His Person the worlds stand arranged."<sup>3</sup> The Purusha conception gives the organic view of society very clearly. The oldest picture is found in the Rig-veda. "Into how many portions did they divide this Being (Purusha) whom they immolated? . . . . His mouth became a Brahmana, his arm was made a Rajanya (nobleman or Kshatriya), his thigh was transformed into a Vaisya (merchant), and from his feet sprang the Sudra (working man)"<sup>4</sup>, and so on. The later hymns on the same subject do not speak any more of a cutting up or an

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1 Bhagavat-gita XI, 7.

2 Bhagavat-gita XI, 15.

3 Bhagavata-purana I, 3, 3.

4 Rig-veda X, 90, 11-14.

immolating but of an issuing, as for instance the lines in the Vishnu-purana "When, true to his design, Brahma (the Creator) became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom sattva (harmony and purity) prevailed sprang from his mouth, others in whom rajas (passion) predominated came from his breast, others in whom both rajas (passion) and tamas (darkness, materiality, inertia) were strong proceeded from his thighs, others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was tamas. Of these was composed the system of the four Varnas. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

From the above quotation we see that for the ancient Hindu social-psychologist it was quality and character that determined the Varna of a person. In the Gita we read: "The fourfold Varna was emanated by Me according to Guna (quality) and Karma (action, more in particular action resulting from past action)<sup>2</sup>." And "The duties of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and also of Sudras are distributed according to their Gunas

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<sup>1</sup> Vishnu-purana I, 6, 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagavat-gita IV, 13.



(qualities) born of their nature.<sup>1</sup>” And in the three verses that follow the tendencies “born of the nature” of a person and consequent duties are enumerated.

Also the world at large, not in a social, but in a geographical sense, taken culturally and economically, may be considered as a giant living entity. We may then look for the highest Varna of every nation to contribute some special intellectual or cultural achievement or characteristic of that nation to the world, we may look to the second Varna to strive towards the realization of the World-State, and we may look for the two lowest Varnas to bring forth those products which they can produce easiest, cheapest and in the best quality, and send to other parts of the world where those are wanted, in exchange for other products. We notice that only complete internationalism is in accordance with the theory of the four natural classes and can contribute to the general welfare of the world. Narrow nationalism, which does not

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1 *Ibid.* XVIII, 41.

look beyond the frontiers of the state and tries to be self-sufficient, is ruinous for the health of the world. Autarchy (economic self-sufficiency) and "splendid isolation" are unnatural and bring unfortunate results. The world has arrived at a stage of such high development of traffic and intercourse that the only possible solution of the world's problems can be the World-State. Politically it will have to provide a safeguard against selfish nationalism and the aggressive or oppressive spirit of nations. This is the task of the ruling and regulating Varna. Economically the World-State will employ an international organization directing production in all countries on the basis of greatest efficiency, highest quality and least cost, and for directing the international barter of products and achievements on a healthy basis. This is the task of the 2nd and 3rd Varnas in co-operation. On the moment some nations have become as it were a kind of dangerous tumours in the world-body, and the whole economic system seems to be becoming more and more unnatural. In some parts of the-

world there is over-production of certain food-stuffs, and they are at times even destroyed. In other parts of the world there is lack of the same things and people starve. It is clear that only perfect co-operation and a central directing authority can bring a satisfactory solution of the economic world problems of the present time. I shall revert to this point. I now come to the difference between Varna and Caste.

Varna and Caste are contrarious things. Varnas are the "natural classes" which are not manifest in the Social Constitution, the actual cast of society, yet represent the natural formation of communal life (the Social Composition)<sup>1</sup>. As such they are existing classes, though only few persons may see and realize them behind the outer show of the Social Constitution. Secondly, from the point of view of the Social Constitution, they form the ideal after which the Social Constitution has to be formed. Varna can only be translated by natural or cultural class.

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<sup>1</sup> Social Constitution and Social Composition, see p. 41.

The theory of the four natural classes is a most helpful hypothesis for clarifying the thoughts of the people about the structure of society ; it is based upon the theory of the natural or cultural hierarchy. Hence, Varna must be seen only in a social-educational sense, and in this sense its importance is very great. It is of use to all members of society *first* to get a clear picture of the nature and structure of society, in distinguishing the Social Constitution and the hierarchy of power from the Social Composition and the natural or cultural hierarchy ; *secondly*, to determine their own place in society, the nature of their work as social contribution ; and *thirdly*, to be inspired by a set of ideals most akin to their inner nature.

Of course, "Varna" must not be taken in too dogmatic a sense. It is not at all impossible to imagine a future stage of society in which a man might belong to the educational class in the morning, for instance as a university professor, and to the productive class in the afternoon, for instance as a farm-hand. In

that case he would shift from one Varna to another several times a day, as happens to some extent even at the present time. In this case the highest Varna counts. The professor can easily become a farm-hand, a farm-hand however not a professor. The cultural factor determines the Varna after all, and not the physical occupation of the moment.

Also every father has an opportunity to be something of a "Brahmana" in the education of his children, whatever his profession may be, and every child begins its life as a Sudra.

The conception of Varna must never be used to put people into water-tight compartments. Varna, as I already said, has two aspects. As a theory of the Social Composition it represents existing groups of men. A gentleman will always be recognized as a gentleman in every country. A selfish brute will always be recognized as such. Every human being has some social sense of recognizing degrees of social usefulness and character in other people. All this is "Varna".

But not all gentlemen are publicly recognized as such in society and have the corresponding status in the world. Equally there may be self-seekers and brutes that by some means (economical power, will power, physical energy or deceit) have exalted themselves to a place in the Social Constitution far above that which they hold in the natural or cultural hierarchy. Here the hierarchy of Varnas comes in only as an ideal, as a model after which the Social Constitution has to be formed. The true social leaders are trying to have the Varna hierarchy manifested as completely as possible in the Social Constitution. Not by force, not by legislation, not by trying to change the outer form of society, but by education, by personal example, by spiritual powers, by leading public opinion, by influencing the social mind. Whether the particular Social Constitution is a class system, largely economical, as is the case in the West, or is formed by a caste system, as in India, is immaterial. Social laws and social needs are universal.

Later I shall consider the Varnas in connection with the classes of the Western world. Now I want to compare the ancient Varnas or natural classes with the present castes in India. What is the main point of difference?

From careful study of the old texts on caste and class we must come to the conclusion that in the ancient teachings on the social structure there was a strong tendency to prevent artificial or man-made bounds between the classes. Significant is the indicated "danger of confusion of Varnas" which I shall deal with in a subsequent chapter. We read often that every man is to fall naturally into the class to which he belongs by nature and character, his social behaviour determining his place in the cultural hierarchy, or in other words indicating his Varna.

One may perhaps bring in the objection that I do not explain "Varna" in the proper or usual Hindu way. I reply to this possible charge that there is no all embracing and easy definition of Varna. We come across a number of discrepancies. Consequently it is our duty to dig out

the theory in its fundamental form and to purify it from inconsistencies.

The hereditary law, determining the status of the offspring, is a later development, as I argued elsewhere. The same applies to the doctrine of reincarnation which became a convenient expedient for postponing social justice. It spoiled and subverted proper injunctions like the following:

"A man, whether he be a Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra, is such by nature, this is my opinion. By evil deed a twice-born man falls from his position. . . The Kshatriya or Vaisya who lives in the condition of a Brahmana, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brahmanhood . . . ." and so on, even to the last consequences: "By practising the following good works, a Sudra becomes a Brahmana," these good works being the perfect performance of his Sudra duties of service and obedience.<sup>1</sup>

Yet much evidence is found that in early times (and even in more recent

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<sup>1</sup> Mahabharata, Anusasana-parvan 142, 6.



times, in spite of later faulty interpretations and teachings) it often happened that individual people, and sometimes even whole groups were raised to higher classes, in particular to Brahmanhood. This was according to the pure doctrine that, as a man unfolds his personality, he may himself raise his status to a higher natural class, which will result in his becoming acknowledged by the members of that class as living according to their standard and ways and consequently having become one of them.

The theory of the four Varnas must have resulted from a careful observation of society in early times and the Social Constitution of Hinduism must have been modelled as far as possible on the Varna doctrine. In modern times, however, Hindu society has grown so far away from the original conception and ideal, that it is hard to imagine it was once based upon it. Hindu society has become artificially cramped into so many castes — as many as 3,000 of them — among which intermarriage is prohibited. Now it's not the principle of social usefulness and

character which determines the traditional social status, but only the caste of the parents. If the parents are Brahmans, the son is a Brahman, if the parents are Ezhavas, the son is an Ezhava, and nobody can possibly help it. It is clear that this is directly opposed to the intention and social vision of the ancient social leaders and law-givers. A caste system consists of a number of castes the members of which do not intermarry, which show a tendency to be socially exclusive, which perpetuate themselves hereditarily, which are hierarchically superposed on the basis of a supposedly cultural standard, and which tend to bring forth more and more castes indefinitely. It is clear that all these characteristics are entirely different from and have nothing in common with the characteristics of Varnas or natural classes.

In Western society the same hereditary principle has been at work. In early times for instance a man became a nobleman by his deeds of chivalry and by his superior character. Later it degenerated into the system that one became an

aristocrat, merely because one's father happened to be one. In many cases it may have been all right, since education and family tradition count much. In other cases it was decidedly wrong. The French revolution was one of the results.

As regards the highest cultural class in the West it was open to all, irrespective of class. Any man could become a priest and a scholar; in India however the priesthood became hereditary. The hereditary principle has in no country developed to such an extent as in India. It works straight against a natural and healthy functioning of society. It also tends to weaken a race biologically. Admixture of blood is beneficial to the race, generally speaking, if the racial differences are not too great.

It is, however, not advisable to attack caste directly and revolutionarily. It is wise to be very careful with social customs, especially if they are deeply ingrained in the mentality of the people. A satisfactory solution to any social problem can only be found by idealism, by clarifying the thoughts of the people,

by ridiculing superstition, by influencing public opinion. The solution is a psychological one in the first instance. One must first prepare the ideals and thoughts of those sections of the people that matter, and then their customs will begin to change as a natural result of a new mentality. Only then is the time for legislation. If we want to make people more religious, do we change the rituals of their religion? No! We try to awaken the religious fire within their heart! If that has been done, the rituals will change or drop away of themselves. Similarly as regards social things: first idealism and elucidation. Let us not try too much to attack the customs directly. What is the use if we cannot influence the *life* of the people? However important legislation may be, it comes only in the second place.

Caste is bound to "break down" in the course of time. The process is going on continually. When the critical stage comes, it is to be hoped that a noble and balanced sense of class-relations on a principle of character and responsibility

will have come forward in the social mind of India, to serve as a basis on which the social structure of the future may evolve. In other words, that Chaturvarnya (division into four natural classes) may again guide the social destiny for a time. That is to say, Chaturvarnya freed from its caste-associations in the minds of people.

Caste must "break down" of its own accord, that is to say, as a result of a new idealism and a new mentality, and not as a result of caste-struggle and legislation. Otherwise the social consequences might be serious. As Sir George Birdwood said. "The real danger which threatens India is that the caste-system may be broken down. It would make India the East End of the world." There is something in this, if we read it in the proper way.

The same applies to the class-relations in all parts of the world. The world is staring itself blind at unbalanced and unjust class-relations in the Social Constitution and has to regain insight in the organic relations of the natural classes of the Social Composition. Only a clearer conception

and a corresponding ideal may change the face of humanity for the better. All other endeavours are bound to fail.

I would stress again that the theory of the four Varnas or natural classes is a universal theory. The four groups can be found in all races and civilizations at all periods of time, and the same fundamental laws hold good.

In India, many people are prejudiced against the *word* Varna. This is a pity, because if they tried to understand the Varna-conception in its pure original form, they would see that it can be of the greatest help and assistance to them in their merciless fight against the evils of caste.

If, however, people cannot overcome their aversion to the *word*, let them call the four fundamental groups in the organic body of human society by some other name. By all means! Let them call them "natural classes" or "cultural classes". The terms do not matter as long as we understand what they stand for.

Another point which I want to stress once more because it is often misunderstood: Varnas can never be *instituted*. Simply because they *are* there all the time. Division between men on this basis can never be *made*. It *is* there all the time, and no amount of effort could do away with it.

This ancient terminology of Varnas is quite useful in helping us to understand the fundamental structure of a well functioning society. As I said, it must never be used for creating four framed population classes. This would lead to the formation of caste again, which is exactly that which was and is its intention to prevent.

Of course, the natural classes must not be regarded as water-tight compartments, but as a convenient framework to understand the fundamental structure of society and the social tendency which we called after the ancient Hindu sociologists: confusion of natural classes (Varna-samkara), to which we shall devote the next chapter.

All I have said until now may be boiled down to a few simple words:

*All that is necessary is brotherhood and common sense.* But, on the whole, people are not fond of simplicity. The greatest truths are passed by in platitudes, and the simpler things are, the more words are required to explain them. This is understandable, for "simple" really means "one-fold". But if we cannot understand the simple thing as it is, no amount of words will suffice to explain it to us clearly. The greatest things in life are the simplest, and therefore they are passed by so easily.

All that is necessary is brotherliness and common sense. Common sense to see the value of the individual in his specialty and difference from others, brotherliness to feel and demonstrate the unity and coherence of individuals in groups of various kinds and of those again in the integrate of humanity. The heart must desire, the mind must see and the action must bespeak that heart, mind and action are well-balanced. This is in the interest of the individual-in-society as well as of society-in-the-individual — *which is at heart one and the same*



## CHAPTER II

### THE DANGER OF CONFUSION OF NATURAL CLASSES

I N our examination of the theory of the four natural classes, let us once more return to Hindu Sociology. In the Hindu scriptures we often come across the expression Varna-samkara (mixture or confusion of natural classes). It contains a serious warning.

Sometimes we find it together with the interpretation that the various castes should not intermarry.

Much evidence can be found in the scriptures as well as in history that intermarriage between the classes that later became castes was prevalent or at least possible in early times.<sup>1</sup> Later, when a greater contact between races was established, various social factors brought about a tendency to prevent mixed

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<sup>1</sup> See Dharma and Society. See also the pamphlet of Dr. Bhagavan Das on The Hindu Intercaste Marriage Validity Bill ("Vishrama", Chunar, U. P.)

marriages, and the injunctions against "confusion of Varnas" were got hold of and used, and in the course of time misused to prove that intermarriage of the castes was sinful. It is clear that these interpretations are interpolations of much later date and indicate misunderstanding of an older teaching.

I am not condemning them completely. Some amount of endogamy (marriage within a particular social group) may be serviceable at times. At a certain period in Indian history the prohibition of intermarriage may have been culturally useful to some extent. But when it had served its purpose, and became absolute law, the rigidity of which only saints could dare to attack, it became highly detrimental to the health of society.

What was this older teaching, of which we find so many traces in the scriptures? What did the ancient Hindu sociologists mean by the "danger of confusion (or mixture) of natural classes"?

To understand this it is necessary to realize the difference between "the Social

Composition " and " the Social Constitution ". The Social Composition is the natural organic and hierarchic relation between individuals and social groups. It is the result of a slow evolution. The Social Composition is formed by the natural human group-formations which are the result of unconscious activity which is fully socializing. The simplest form is the family. The family is not an institution, it is a natural phenomenon. The Social Constitution on the other hand is the social formation of modern society. It is based upon the Social Composition, but is for the greater part the outcome of conscious planning and organization. It is to some extent the result of unsocial or anti-social unconscious activity. The Social Composition is socially beneficent, the Social Constitution, however, may have many shortcomings. It shows far too many at the present day !

In animal societies, for instance, of bees, ants, deer, or elephants, there is only the Social Composition. They are natural and unconscious groupings of animals, there is no Social Constitution. The reaction

to pathological anti-sociality is a death penalty or outcasting.

The Social Composition develops in human society according to the socializing instincts and intuitions of humanity. The Social Constitution develops largely by means of mental activity through the selfish desires of individuals or groups.

The Social Composition shows the natural or cultural hierarchy, the Social Constitution the hierarchy of power. In the Social Constitution, the actual cast of society, the physically or economically powerful and the cunning rise unduly on the social ladder. The social equilibrium is then lost.

From a careful study of the teaching on "confusion of Varnas" we have come to the conclusion that it indicated the non-correspondence between the Social Composition and the Social Constitution. Not a confusion of the *castes* was originally meant to be prevented. The intention of the ancient sociologists was that every man should actually do that bit of work, that social task, for which

he was called and fit, which was his Dharma. The non-correspondence between the suitability of the individual and his profession and place on the social ladder constitutes the "Confusion of Varnas".

The danger of confusion in the pure sense of Varna we find here and there in the older texts. By the later confusion of social theory and ideal with the actual conditions of class the "danger of confusion" was applied to *caste*, and instead of serving its purpose as a warning it then contributed to the crystallization of the caste system, the very thing it meant to prevent.

In the 18th Chapter of the Bhagavat-gita, after the enumeration of the duties of the four Varnas, we read: "Man reaches perfection by being intent on his own duty (karman)."<sup>1</sup> Then we read: "Better is one's own Dharma (social duty and vocation) though destitute of merits than the well-performed Dharma of another. He who performs the Dharma laid down by his own nature incurs not

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<sup>1</sup> Gita XVIII, 45, cf. Artha-sastra I, 3, 13-14.

sin".<sup>1</sup> By "one's own nature" of course is meant one's personal character, capacities, culture and social possibilities. It is unthinkable that in a philosophy, where stress is always laid on the principles of personal value and reincarnation, the hereditary principle would have been made supreme. Even in Western teachings, in which the hereditary principle comes much more to the foreground, the pre-eminence of the factor of personal character and possibilities is not disputed.

Clearly the danger indicated is not a hereditary-economic or a racial one, but a purely cultural one. There is danger if a man of low character becomes a bully. There is danger if a man of low morality takes to business enterprise on a large scale. There is danger if a man out for his own elevation and fame becomes a power in the state. There is danger if a person out of the desire of self-glorification begins to dictate spiritual precepts. There is danger if a man of low intellectual development begins to organize institutions.

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1 Gita XVIII, 47, cf. III, 35.

But there is a far greater danger if whole classes of people begin to do those very things, begin to usurp the social tasks and functions of the other groups. This is what is happening largely in the world to-day. This is the root of the social confusion, both in India and in the West. No class can blame other classes however for the confusion of Varnas in our present social chaos. Every class contributed its share to the process of confusion.<sup>1</sup>

In the Puranas we find forecasts of the eventual development of confusion of natural classes in Kali-yuga, the present age. The tendency must have been present in its initial stage, when those lines were born, and it speaks highly for the clarity of vision of the compilers. When we read those forecasts we have to smile, since they often present a perfect caricature of modern society. The main theme, of course, is that the classes

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<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the expression "confusion of natural classes", strictly speaking, is incorrect. What is meant is confusion and shifting of the population classes from the natural classes, or, in other words, the non-correspondence of the two.

which ought to correspond to the two lower Varnas come unduly forward in every field of social activity. I shall quote to you a few passages. Please read the terms "Sudra", "Brahmana", etc., in their class meaning, as they were meant, and not in their caste-meaning.

In the Kali-Age "Sudras (workers) will be kings of men"<sup>1</sup>. "Principal class will be the Sudra"<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the labour-classes in many parts of the world consider themselves to be all-important, and in some parts labour-kings actually hold sway. "All people will consider themselves as equal with the Brahmanas"<sup>3</sup>. This applies to the tendency found in some parts of the world of lower class people who out of sheer inferiority complex bring themselves to imagine that they are equal to the leaders of society. However since the leaders are often also not the right leaders they may be partly excused for the delusion! "Wealth will be the test of pedigree and culture"<sup>4</sup>. "He who

1 Bhagavata-purana II, 7, 38.

2 Vishnu-purana VI, 1.

3 Vishnu-purana VI, 1.

4 Vishnu-purana IV, 24.



will distribute great wealth will be considered as master of men, and prestige will no longer be a title to supremacy"<sup>1</sup>. "Low people will conduct business transactions"<sup>2</sup>. These passages clearly point to the "big bad wolf", the capitalist who has forgotten his social obligations. "All orders of life will be common alike to all persons"<sup>3</sup>. This indicates the tendency to bring about a levelling of culture. Among socialists and communists there is or used to be a tendency to glorify the manual worker and to bring all classes down to his level. "External marks will constitute the only distinction of orders."<sup>4</sup> This points to the superficiality of modern culture and the great loss of respect for culture in the popular estimation. The position of artists, scholars and authors on cultural subjects compared to that of members of other social groups shows that culture is not highly valued at this time.

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1 Vishnu-purana VI, 1.

2 Bhagavata-purana XII, 3, 25

3 Vishnu-purana VI, 1.

4 Vishnu-purana IV, 24

The period we are living in now is the period of the manual worker and of the man of commerce, of the Sudra and the Vaisya. They are struggling with one another for supremacy. But neither is, in the natural course of things, meant to rule, to take the foremost place, a state of affairs which is so much in evidence at the present day. An unbridled commercial capitalism may form a danger to society. It is not the function of gold or paper to rule. Too large a power of the lowest of the four social groups however constitutes an even greater danger. It is not the Masses that are meant to guide and rule but the groups of persons that have the ability, the character and the social duty to guide and rule. As I have said before, equality is a spiritual and heart-factor, and can never be a social one. All social and political ideas and ideals aiming at bringing about social or political equality are unscientific to the degree of stupidity, because they are against the natural trend of society, against the

tendency to cultural-hierarchical and organic division.

The modern world is blinded by the glamour of noble ideas in democracy and its social usefulness in the near past and nobody dares to proclaim openly that democracy, in the *strict sense of the word*, as the rule of the demos or people, is futile in its sheer impossibility.

Voices from the past, of practical experience and of the highest cultural nobility, remind us that it is not the task of the people to meddle with the ruling of the state. Lao-Tze, that wisest of sages, in his exalted and yet so practical philosophy, wrote in his Tao-Teh-Ching: "The methods of government must not be exhibited to the people." And "the difficulty of governing the people arises from their having too much knowledge". Here is meant, of course, part knowledge of things which is not their Varna's concern. One of the great Inca rulers of Peru, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, wrote: "Science was not intended for the people, but for those of generous blood. Persons of low degree are only puffed up

by it and rendered vain and arrogant. Neither should such meddle with the affairs of government, for this would bring high offices into disrepute and cause detriment to the state<sup>1</sup>." But for the reference to "blood" this is fully in accordance with the theory of the four natural classes. In passing we may also remark that in our present time "science" is partly in the wrong hands, as a result of confusion of natural classes. One of the terrible results is the manufacture and sale of poison gas and arms of war.

Of course, the abovementioned thesis does not imply that some man, "born under a sign of rulership", gifted with clarity of insight into matters of government and with integrity of character, might not come forward out of the labour class to take his rightful place in the ruling Varna, perhaps dethroning or replacing another, born in the class of regents whose real place lies in another field of social contribution and perhaps a much lower one. The old—I think,

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1 *W. H. Prescott*, "The Conquest of Peru", p.70.

Greek — saying about women applies very well to population classes: "The less they are talked about and noticed, the more virtuous and noble they are." One cannot very well argue that times have changed and that those old sayings no longer apply to modern developments. Outer forms of society may change, the machine stage in any civilization may produce particular problems, needs and solutions, but *the fundamental human relations do not change.*

In the various stages in the life of a civilization only the relation between the various population classes may change, and one or other of the classes may come unduly forward in political life and public talk.

Many great authors have warned against the terrible danger to modern culture from the side of the lowest social group in Western countries. Already Hegel, Nietzsche and other social philosophers prophesied the coming period of the Mass-man. Comte, the father of the science of sociology, wrote: "But for a

new spiritual power our age which is an age of revolution will bring about a catastrophe.”<sup>1</sup> Spengler, the German sociologist, who died recently, predicted the collapse of Western civilization. Many other sociologists also show grave concern for the winning of the power of the under-world. Foremost among them is the Spanish sociologist Don Jose Ortega y Gasset, who gave to the world the thought provoking and much discussed book : *La Rebelion de las Masas*, “The Rebellion of the Masses”. Ortega makes us realize very clearly how great the menace to culture and civilization is from the side of the masses, ever winning in power, ever coming more and more to the foreground in various countries of the world. The masses, led by unscrupulous individuals — the more dangerous because they may have some pathological kind of greatness — are blind and deaf. The masses consist of barbarians in an intellectual and moral sense, they refuse to recognize culture or to serve in the organic whole of a cultured society, not

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1 Quoted from *Ortega y Gasset*.

even to mention a readiness to co-operate. The masses have been slowly coming forward to take a prominent place in all fields of social activity. Their chief characteristics are discontent, not so much economically but rather socially, and a spirit of grumbling and rebellion. I have said already the masses are "blind". Generally speaking, it is the blindness of ignorance, and the delusion may be there that their endeavours and strivings are in a way just, when the masses are thought to be identical with the labour classes, which, of course, they are not. The more dangerous it is, since there is nothing more dangerous than blind idealism.

A few years ago, when Ortega y Gasset wrote his book, Spain, though in great political tension, was still in a state of relative peacefulness. Now, hatched out by political and religious corruption, it seems that the Mass-man in Spain has in fact broken loose and that his selfish and destructive impulses are running riot. Of course, he is fighting on both sides. In India, one cannot yet speak of "masses" in this sense, though the

Hindu-Muslim riots and some other phenomena of a similar nature show that the masses are beginning to manifest. India is (luckily) many years behind the West. Clever social guidance, in profiting by the lessons of the West, may *perhaps* circumambulate this stage of social history.

The disregard of the masses must, of course, not in any way be interpreted to mean a disregard of manual labour or of the productive class, as I said before.

Ortega y Gasset calls the Mass-man *the organ of the highest good and of the worst evil*. When the organ of the highest good it is the productive Varna proper, or rather it contains members of all four groups in harmonious concert. When the Mass-man is the organ of the worst evil, he must be taken in the sense of the under-man. the "shadow" of man, to speak in terms of psychology. Every person, except him who is fully aligned to Truth, has an element in his unconscious which is complementary to his positive conscious personality.



If the person consciously wants something good, this part-personality in his unconscious tries to urge him to do something selfish, something "evil". This part-personality is normally in the background and though his wishes may at times be fulfilled, the conscious personality is yet master. This part-personality, which modern psychology realizes to be of great import, used to be called a "devil". Every man has got a devil like that in him, "the shadow" of himself. The devils of the Christian Middle Ages, the devils of Eastern religions, are now taken very seriously by, for instance, the great psychologist Dr. Jung. They have, however, to be taken in a psychological sense, and not to be looked upon as having anything to do with religion.

Normally this shadow remains a shadow, that is to say, in the background, but it may happen that a subversion of the whole personality takes place. Then the shadow, or a part of it, ceases to be shadow, comes to the foreground and takes control. Then the conscious personality is immersed in the unconscious

In the worst case we get a man who is "possessed by a devil", to express it in the popular lingo. These things do not happen only in the East, they happen also and perhaps more often in the "enlightened" West. Only there the "spirit" is not exorcized by a priest, but dealt with by the psycho-analyst.

We all know of the cases in which we did something we were later ashamed of. Afterwards we say. "It was not really *I* who did it, I was not myself." We were temporarily possessed by something. This is the simplest case.

At any case it is certain that modern psychology has begun to revolutionize the treatment of crime.

But not only individual man has got his shadow. Groups of men, from the simple family, via classes, and nations, to humanity as a whole, also have their shadow. The shadow puts its imprint upon every department of life. In ancient India, the collective shadow was personified as the spirit of Adharma. When big groups of men are together, a sudden subversion of

the group spirit may take place. From civilized peaceful citizens they may suddenly turn into barbarians, possessed by a collective spirit of destruction or by any kind of passion. Only strong personalities are not swept away by the tide. Weaker personalities may, under the influence of mass-psychology, take to deeds they would never be capable of as individuals. The collective "devil" takes temporary possession of the individual. The person transfers his sense of responsibility to the group, which has none, and simply becomes an instrument of the "shadow" of the group. There may be degrees of this, and the period may vary. The technical term for an unconscious link with a group is "participation mystique". Typical instances of the pathological participation are political riots, cruelty and destruction at revolutions, deeds of religious fanaticism, and lynchings of negroes in America. Some derailed ideal is always at the root of it, to lull the conscience to sleep.

Another extremely dangerous social phenomenon is that of the well-known

gangs in America, engaged in all kinds of anti-social and definitely criminal pursuits. Here the under-man is consciously organized in anti-social groups, and the more dangerous since he is led by individuals who come from more educated social groups and possess a high degree of intelligence.

In passing I just want to mention that the biological under-man also presents a grave danger to humanity. The under-man propagates his kind far more prolifically than the men of higher type. Their descendants are gradually outnumbering the biologically superior people, and it is very good that the science of Eugenics is now more carefully studied and applied, for instance, by sterilizing idiots and criminals. This has now been made possible by law in several countries. Several criminal families have been studied with interesting results. For instance, from a vagabond called Juke, born in New York in 1720 seven generations numbering about 1,200 persons have been traced of every grade of idleness, viciousness, lewdness, pauperism,

disease, idiocy, insanity and criminality. 310 were professional paupers, 440 were physically wrecked by their own "diseased wickedness", more than half the women fell into prostitution, 130 were convicted criminals, 60 were thieves, 7 were murderers, only 20 of them learned a trade, 10 of these in prison. So that only 10 out of the 1,200, less than 1 per cent, can be considered to be more or less normal. The whole lot of them cost the state \$1,250,000.<sup>1</sup> If only this one man could have been sterilized! It is one of the blessings of modern sociology that these problems are now being tackled, perhaps only just in time. In various countries sterilization (of course, not castration!) is now made possible by a small operation, with the consent of the persons involved.

Since we are considering this biological problem, it may be well in passing to mention another biological problem which has excited a good deal of interest and commotion, that of Birth-control. Since

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<sup>1</sup> *Lothrop Stoddard*, "The revolt against civilization", p. 88.

the natural division of society is a cultural-hierarchical one and members of the human family are on different stages of cultural development, it is illogical and impractical to ask them to conform to one standard and to require the same conduct from them all. In accordance with the theory of the natural classes, sexual self-control and abstinence would be the rule for the highest Varna and the use of contraceptives helpful to people of the lowest Varna, to whom sexual self-control could not even be an ideal. In this case both self-control and contraceptives would be highly serviceable to society, whereas if both are upheld as exclusive standards or means, neither will be of much value.

The tendency to mental uniformity is one of the modern trends which have to be overcome. It is an outcome of the confused popular ideals of equality.

The main thing is that a sense of natural hierarchic relations is born again in the mind of the people, of course completely unconnected with the existing class or

caste differences. Insight into the organic relation of the various natural groups of producers, distributors, regents and cultural guides, in the one living body of humanity, has to be regained. It is pre-eminently the task of the highest cultural class to bring about such a mental revolution, which will in the course of time cause a readjustment of the present unbalanced class-relations. Only a realization of the existing "confusion of natural classes" may bring about juster and more harmonious class relations.

It is only the true Brahmanas in India and in every country, the people in the highest natural class, who are the real leaders of society, the guides of public opinion, the educators of the social mind and the noble examples in practical politics that can counterbalance the chaotic and selfish tendencies in society. Their endeavours will eventually bring about a reborn human culture. Their task is not to rule. They must guide and educate, that is all. But it is the most important social contribution.

Thus the most pressing need of the world to-day is that the real Brahmana be found, the true "knower of Brahman (Truth)". In the present conditions of suffering and turmoil in world affairs, he is born again and slowly coming forward to take the place which is his by duty and vocation and to fulfil the need of society. It is inevitable, for in the social crisis that has drawn near, either the spirit of the masses will prevail, or that of the highest cultural class.

In the subsequent chapters I shall deal with the political issues, here I want only to bring forward the social problems.

The new Brahmana will, of course, come forward out of all social classes. The new intellectual who also comes from all possible social strata must not be mistaken for him. In fact, intelligence without character promotes confusion of natural classes, and in the majority of cases proves no blessing to the world.

As regards India, I am glad to have noticed that not a few of the new type of true Brahmana are coming forward



out of the traditional Brahman castes. In Europe, there are at the present time many signs of a cultural awakening, there many of the new type of inspired "Brahmana" are found in scientific circles which twenty or even ten years ago were as yet sterile except in the lower realms of the mind.

In India, it is to be hoped that all men and women engaged in the field of education, in literary work and in scientific studies of various kind, will work to the utmost of their capacity for the elucidation of the ancient theory and ideal of four Varnas — of course, first of all by personal example — in order that eventually Varna-samkara as now manifest in the caste-system may be remedied, and that the evils of the caste-system and other social superstitions may vanish and drop away of their own accord, in order that Christ's prophetic words may not come to be applicable to India: "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand"<sup>1</sup>. For that

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1 St. Matthew 12, 25.

reason we can again but appeal to each other's feelings of tolerance and liberality, for only in a spirit of extending hands of goodwill towards others that are also trying to serve and work in an unselfish spirit, even if their views and methods might somewhat differ, something lasting and deep-going might be achieved. Strength — of whatever kind — always lies in unity. And love invariably leads to achievement.

There is a saying of a son or disciple of the great mystic Kabir: "The sect is the mausoleum of the Guru." Sometimes it seems to me that there are too many mausoleums, and that many sects would do well to liberate their Guru from his mausoleum, in order that he could once more go among men, diffusing the blessings of his spirituality and the wisdom of his realizations, in a spirit of tolerance and universality.

How can we set about to try and improve the world we see around us, to influence collective life?

It is *not* my intention directly to attack the caste-system in India or the

class-system in Europe, though I criticize them. In the first place, we must try to clarify the conceptions of the people about the fundamental structure of human society in India as well as in the West. It is a wrong method to try to change the outer forms of any institution directly. We must try to change the *conceptions* about the institution first. A new ideal must be given. The *life* must change. Once that has been achieved, the outer social forms will change as a natural result. They will adapt themselves to the new life urges and thought-forms of their own accord. In our age too much experimenting has been going on with *form* apart from *life*. Modern man seems to be innately impatient. He wants to bring about all sorts of surface changes before the proper time. For instance, in the political field so many revolutionary changes have been brought about, and always it was proved, that it did not help much, after a time everything was always much the same as before, and the few improvements were never justified by the great

waste of cultural or material energy or achievements.

As I already once asked, if we want to make the people more spiritual, are we going to change the rituals of our religion, or to drop some of our rituals and invent new ones? Surely not, if we want to make people more religious, we can only try to awaken in them the burning flame in the heart, we may try to pass on living spirituality. We can set a good example. That is all. New religious practices or institutions will grow up naturally when the times are ripe. Only then they will serve their purpose. If we concoct them, they are worthless. Similarly we must not concoct political or social improvements. In every field of life there is the same fundamental law. Every change must come from inside, and slowly create the outer. This applies as well to the personal life of man as to the collective. And if collective-psychological matters are at stake, the social leaders must be extremely careful. Idealism may hold certain dangers. For instance, the ideal of Equality, as I said before,

is a wonderful spiritual ideal. As brotherhood it is the rock upon which all social — national and international — life ought to be founded. But equality can easily be misunderstood in a social or political sense, which is bound to have most unfortunate results. I shall revert to this in the following chapters.

A social leader of the nobler type must not commit the mistake of projecting his own psychology into the collective psychology, or in other words, imagining the people to be as intelligent and unselfish as himself. He must first of all deeply and gloriously be himself, but secondly he must be one of the people, know them thoroughly and realize their limitations. The mind of the people works slowly. They *feel* but do not *think* much. He must see that. The people may easily bring forth Mass-men under the influence of the wrong kind of leaders. The masses are dangerous. It is the true "Brahmana", the knower of Truth, that must eventually give guidance again, not the *party*-leader who is only a part leader. The only directly efficient

way to bring about social improvements for him is by steadily influencing the collective mind, by trying to awaken socializing instincts in the people by bringing them to the foreground out of the collective unconscious, and by guiding public opinion. That is all, in theory very simple, in practice very difficult, as is always the case. But once the theory is accepted as being correct and recognized as simple, the application will follow as a matter of course. The same law holds good.

As regards influencing the social mind, we may learn much from some inspiring Chinese scriptures of a very ancient date. I should like to quote from the I-Ging, "The Book of Commutation", which gives wise counsel. To me it is one of the greatest books of wisdom of all ages. The 57th sign of this book gives "Penetration generates gradual and subtle effects. It should not be brought about by violence but by uninterrupted influencing. These effects attract less general attention than those won by infraction, but they are more persevering and deeper. In order to be

able to work in this way, it is essential clearly to realize one's end, for something will be attained only if the penetrative influencing is continually going on in the same direction. . . . .

The penetrative quality of the mind is due to its incessancy. That makes it so powerful. It uses time as means to the effect. Similarly the thought of the ruler has to penetrate into the social mind. To that effect a continuous influencing through elucidation and injunction is required. Only when the injunction has entered the social mind, a corresponding course of action is possible. Unprepared action scares people and works alienating."<sup>1</sup>

To this wise counsel of ages ago, the modern science of social psychology has nothing to add, it heartily endorses it.

Very important is that the influencing be done in such a manner that the people do not really notice it. People are not fond of being schoolmastered, nor of being told what they have to

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<sup>1</sup> *R. Wilhelm, I-Ging, Das Buch der Wandlungen*  
Vol. I, p. 166.

accept, believe and do politically, which course is being followed at the present day in the Fascist countries. For that reason the I-Ging says that the effects brought about by influencing the social mind attract less attention but are more persevering and deeper than those brought about by infraction. The true leaders work that way, unlike the dictators.

I would like to quote another Chinese scripture, the Tao-Teh-Ching of Lao-Tze. He wrote: "The Empire has ever been won by letting things take their course. He who must always be doing is unfit to obtain the Empire." "Doing", that is, trying to change outer forms. No, it is necessary to follow the course of Tao: "If kings and princes could but hold fast to this principle, all things would work out their own reformation." Tao is the path of truth, the path of the Brahmana or "knower of truth".

In a natural state, as in a "golden age", the people do not know that they are being ruled. As Lao-Tze puts it: "In the highest antiquity, the people did not know that they had rulers. In the



next age they loved and praised them. In the next, they feared them. In the next, they despised them." He gives in a nutshell the historical stages of the development of rulership. The four ages of Greek and Hindu tradition we find represented in those four stages. At the present day there are in many countries in the world rulers that are despised — like Parliaments in some, ministers in others — or rulers that are feared — like dictators. We must get back to the original state of the unnoticed rulers. So that "when the task is accomplished and affairs are prosperous, the people all say. 'We have come to be as we are, naturally and of ourselves'" (Lao-Tze). Of course, the true rulers are the people of the highest Varnas, they are the leaders of society, they are the seers, teachers and guides. The Brahmins, aristocrats and patricians by birth, and all who are capable must try to live up to the standard of this highest nobility. Let me quote again from Lao-Tze as regards the life of the true nobleman: "The sage, wishing to be above the people,

must by his words put himself below them, wishing to be before the people, he must put himself behind them. In this way, though he has his place above them, the people do not feel his weight; though he has his place before them, they do not feel it as an injury. Therefore all mankind delight to exalt him, and weary not of him. The sage expects no recognition for what he does, he achieves merit but does not take it to himself; he does not wish to display his worth. I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize. The first is gentleness, the second is frugality; the third is humility which keeps me from putting myself before others. Be gentle, and you can be bold, be frugal, and you can be liberal; avoid putting yourself before others, and you can become a leader among men. But in the present day men cast off gentleness and are all for being bold, they spurn frugality and retain only extravagance; they discard humility and aim only at being first. Therefore they shall surely perish."

“He who knows others is clever, but he who knows himself is enlightened. He who overcomes others is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mightier still.” “There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, yet for attacking things that are hard and strong there is nothing that surpasses it, nothing that can take its place. The soft overcomes the hard; the weak overcomes the strong.” And therefore the highest cultural class will eventually overcome the underman and guide again for a while the destiny of man.

In the Secondary Period of the history of our planet, the Earth was peopled by giant flesh-eating monsters, great Saurians and other beasts. They all preyed upon one another and yet the victory and mastery over the earth was granted to a little vegetarian mammal whose habits were social and harmless. In the next age the great flesh-eating reptiles had practically died out, and the descendants of the little mammal went all over the world in many forms and shapes. In a later Age history repeated itself.

sable-toothed tigers, cave-bears and other monsters preyed upon the vegetarian animals. But again the social animals won the competition. The few tigers and lions that now subsist are almost pets if we compare them with their prehistoric ancestors.

In the history of mankind, the same law seems to hold good. Brute force always tends to be self-destructive, because it exists only in self-isolated individuals and units which are bound to quarrel and destroy each other in the course of time, leaving the field free for the more harmless elements.

In conclusion, let us return to Lao-Tze. Of course, before all: "The sage attends to the inner and not to the outer, he puts away the objective and holds to the subjective." In other words, as I said before, he has an eye for realities, he does not meddle with form, but brings about a change of form indirectly by changing thought and life first. And his method, of course, is: "Among men, reject, none ;

among things, reject nothing. This is called comprehensive intelligence."

It is the positive path, the only path which brings deep and lasting results. It is the path of liberality, which carefully avoids intolerance and for that reason it is the path of universal brotherhood.

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## CHAPTER III

### NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

**I**N connection with the danger of confusion of natural classes, there is also the interesting subject of nationalism-and-internationalism. The true relation of the two is rarely understood, especially by those who ought to give guidance in those very matters, the politicians.<sup>1</sup> There are certain trends of thought in the world at the present time that explain nationalism as a complete expression of humanity. According to them a nation must show itself in every way superior to other nations: their people are to be nobler, physically stronger and more beautiful, more clever, more artistic, more powerful, more philosophical, in short, more virtuous and "better" than other peoples in every possible way! In

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<sup>1</sup> Much of what is called nationalism to-day is only party-nationalism, and there may be several varieties of it in one country. In Spain two kinds of nationalists are at present at war with each other. True nationalism, however, is cultural, beyond party-politics.

addition to it a nation ought to be as far as possible (here at least limits are realized) economically self-helping and self-sufficient. The tumour of autarchy! In consequence of those ideas internationalism is condemned, of course because it is entirely misunderstood and explained as supernationalism.

The thinking people of those nations, however, will have to realize again that the glory of nationalism lies in the specialty of that nation's contribution to the world, in its particular cultural note, unlike that of other nations and not possibly to be imitated by them, in its special type of beauty, in its special trends of thought, in its special physical achievements, and economically, in the particular products which are the result of physical and mental suitability and capability due to peculiarities of physique and tradition, in connection with climate and resources of the country of the people in question.

In fact, the desire for complete expression and self-sufficiency as manifested in the mistaken nationalism entails *imitation*

of other nations, action which is really unworthy of man. It is as if in a family every member was to buy and cook his or her own food, make or mend his or her own clothes and so on. Where does common sense come in, in creating division of labour and economizing time, energy and material and thus also leaving some of those aspects of wealth for the individual pursuits, which mean culture and progress?

True *internationalism* is not *super-nationalism*, it is not something which tries to smother national expression, but it is the language of the heart that connects brothers and sisters of different nations and races, and it is the economic blessing of presents to and fro by some international agreement for or organization of free barter of products.

The mistaken internationalism that makes Indians and other Oriental nations follow Western ways of life and trends of thought is not internationalism at all. As a rule it is shallow imitation because of a temporary fashion. Only in a few cases it is adaptation. Adaptation (of useful



ways and things) is an attribute of intelligence, imitation (of unnecessary things) on the other hand is a sign of poverty of the national genius, of an inferiority complex or of a slave mentality. Adaptation and imitation are not outcomes of political domination, for in Asia for instance independent states like Japan and Turkey are more westernized than subject countries. In those states like Turkey and Japan in which so many Western achievements are cleverly and usefully adapted to the needs of the country, it is not noticed that in certain fields of life (clothes, ways of life and thought, manners) there is mere imitation of the West, not in keeping with the dignity of national traditions.

Westerners in Asia, for personal as well as for social reasons, would do better to take to Eastern ways of clothing, like Orientals in Europe who adapt Western modes of dressing. A hundred years ago Europeans in India often wore dhoti and light Indian clothes. It would be far more comfortable, much more in keeping with climatic conditions, and add to their

dignity instead of diminishing respect for their persons, if the Europeans would again follow this excellent habit of their predecessors. Even now there are quite a few who are doing it. If followed on a larger scale, it might considerably relieve strained racial relations.

In Afghanistan, however, the case was the reverse. King Amanullah, of laudably progressive spirit, badly hurt national feelings, however, when he wanted his subjects to *imitate* the West in unnecessary ways. It contributed to his fall, because he did not devote himself sufficiently carefully to only the essentials.

There are in the West also some who imitate Eastern ways of life and thought. Imitation always smacks of the ridiculous or rouses feelings of pity. Adaptation will always command admiration, unless manifesting in an atmosphere of rigid conservatism with the touch of haughty finality about it.

To return to our subject. True nationalism and true internationalism can only go hand in hand, because they are

really two aspects of one and the same thing. The nearest to man is nationalism, and so it comes first: the local nationalism of his town and province comes first again within this. For practical purposes we must begin where we are and only by doing our job where we are, we become internationally useful. As such the national is subservient to the international, in exactly the same way as the individual is subservient to the social. There, too, the individual comes first, because he gives reality and substance to the social, which *by itself* is a mere abstract idea. Culture is the creation of the individual and the national, but society and the international are the sources of inspiration and eventually get the full benefit of it.

The world is as a big diamond with many facets. Each of the facets derives beauty from the reflection of the other facets. If one facet would wish to shine by itself and succeed in getting all the other facets covered with some substance, it would lose its own lustre. Such, indeed, some nations are trying to do at the present time.

As I said, national expression and work begin in one's own place. Certain bounds must be set for expression, if it means to be definite. Let me give an example. Before I went to Bengal, I had heard much about the "provincialism" of the Bengalis. When I was there, however, I saw that the Bengalis realize that, if they want to be good Indians at all, they must be good Bengalis first. Is it possible to be a good Indian in any other way than by being a good Bengali, a good Mysorian, a good Mahratta, etc., first? How to describe an "Indian"? Is it possible at all? All generalizations are without value. India counts only in fundamentals of Hindu and Muslim culture, and as a geographical and political unit. In addition to this, it undoubtedly has now reality as a national ideal. As such, a national expression is developing. I hope that the greatness in this will stimulate local creativeness. Because in that, real culture and progress lie.

To me the most impressive manifestations of the creative spirit in India are always those of local import, because

they are the purest, the truest, in short "the most typically Indian", whether applying to a Kathakali dance-drama in Malabar, a temple procession in one of the holy cities or a Bratachari performance in Bengal. Of modern movements the latter has delighted me. Here is a movement, conscious of the treasures of ancient Bengal culture, yet full of creative life and original ideas. Its popular value lies in the fact that it is a movement for all young people of both sexes and not meant for the drawing-room and for the stage. I hope that people in other parts of India will be inspired to found similar Bratachari Sangas, in which, of course, there will be no imitation of the Bengali forms of cultural expression but an infusing of new life into the local cultural traditions. Often it is highly inspiring to dig out cultural expressions of past periods of history and playfully experiment with them to make them again channels for the creative life. There is nothing like new life from old roots! They are far

more satisfactory than foreign roots that do not thrive in our soil.

I have mentioned the Bratachari movement as an instance how true national expression begins in a delimited area under the leadership of one inspiring personality who inspires and trains other leaders. Its proud spirit, however, does not indicate a narrow nationalism, but a consciousness of its contribution to Indian culture pre-eminently, and through that to the culture of the world. In this it is also truly international in spirit.

When stressing the special note of *expression* of the national and the local, we must, however, not forget that very much of the *inspiration* comes from other countries and that much has been adapted by our conscious and unconscious being from other nations. As Ortega y Gasset remarks, if one made the test of living exclusively as a "national being", and took for instance from the average Frenchman all that he had taken over from other countries, he would be shocked, for he would realize that he could not possibly live on his true

national possessions, because they form only about one-fifth of the whole. The same applies, of course, to India too ; if one could take from the Bengali all that is not a hundred per cent. Bengali, he would also realize that he had taken over most of his cultural possessions from other parts of India, from Assam, and from Europe. Not that this should take away anything from the dignity of Bengali culture, for it is a universal and natural phenomenon. As an individual is deeply influenced by his surroundings, and is a product of the interplay of his own personality and the forces around it — psychic and physical — so a nation is the product of the interplay of the national genius and the psychic and physical forces from abroad. If the national genius is asleep however, the nation will sheepishly imitate ; if it is awake, the nation will adapt foreign influences and mould their expression in its own special way.

Though the individual is the acting agent and the creator, the inspiration comes out of the collective unconscious in him, out of Humanity and Nature, with

capital letters. The same holds good as regards the individual nations. It is the individual who is the cultural leader, progress is due to his striving. Similarly it is nationalism that contributes to world culture. A state of affairs in which frontiers would be abolished, and a vague supernationalism bring about a uniformity of expression, would be far from a blessing.

Thus true nationalism and true internationalism are two sides of one coin. Self-fulfilment in true nationalism is the contribution to world-culture. Mistaken nationalism and supernationalism, however, denote an international confusion of natural classes.

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## CHAPTER IV

### REVOLUTION

**I**T is also interesting to consider revolutions of past and present times in the light of the above train of thoughts. In former ages revolutions were directed against a particular bad king. Such revolutions were a natural protest of the people against "confusion of Varnas". The wrong man was on the exalted throne. It was an individual affair. In recent times, however, revolutions have been directed against kingship as such. These revolutions were an indication that kingship itself had degenerated, with all that went with it, and did no more fulfil the task of the cultural class of regents. In fact, there might still be good kings (like the last Tzar of Russia) who were blind and powerless in a degenerated system. Revolution came also in these cases as a public protest against confusion of natural classes. But the confusion had become so thorough that the sense of organic relations of cultural classes had

been lost by the people. The revolutionaries wanted to make a clean sweep of the whole thing, they knew social relations were unjust and they saw no other way to get justice than by doing away altogether with the existing "system". The ideas as to what would be the eventual form of government were, however, most hazy.

The great revolutions of our age were started by a few idealists who soon could not control the forces they had unshackled. Their influence waned at once when the mobs broke loose. The masses, controlled by the lower motive forces, worked havoc with the cultural achievements and with the lives of men. It is not possible to say whether mobs have any thought for the future, except perhaps of pleasure and licence and the satisfaction of the lust for power. The leaders of the mobs at least (who, of course, are not true leaders) have decided thoughts about their own benefit and advancement.

As history has shown, the period in which the under-man runs riot in a barbarous manner was closed only by the

application of brute force by a powerful personality. This was the first step towards a new organic relation according to natural classes.

Revolution is the inevitable swinging back to equilibrium of an unnaturally disturbed social balance, if natural forces are not put into motion in time to save the eruption. In France of the 18th century and in Russia of the 19th century, corrupt aristocrats and greedy industrial tyrants called upon themselves the social avalanche. Revolutions are bred in the Collective Unconscious of a nation, their conscious focus is formed by a small group of conspirators who succeed in drawing out the revolutionary forces at the proper moment. Their time of office, however, is very short, since they cannot possibly control the forces they have helped to release. Idealism divorced from common sense is, as I have also mentioned elsewhere, highly socially dangerous.

Selfishness begets selfishness and "holy indignation". If anybody has to be blamed, it is the corrupt class or classes that disturbed the social balance and

hatched the dragon of revolution in the social unconscious which have to be blamed for the revolutionary havoc, and not the barbarians who caused infinite bloodshed and destruction.

It is easy to condemn a revolution morally. It is not correct. Revolution is a natural reaction to an unnatural strain. We could equally well condemn a volcanic catastrophe. But it is our duty as social beings to call forth from the Collective Unconscious and to stimulate such forces as will work in opposition to the revolutionary tendencies. Those forces can only be evolutionary forces, that is to say, forces making for natural growth or adjustment.

Let us imagine a boiler in which by carelessness the pressure has been allowed to become too high, and which is about to explode. The engineer will open the safety-valves, and the pressure will slowly diminish. If he tries to make it diminish too quickly by opening a manhole, he will cause a catastrophe. Similarly with a society suffering from too high a strain of confusion of natural classes.

Tensions in the social unconscious have to be relieved little by little. If nothing is done, the social mind will hatch out a revolution.

So far revolution is an accomplished fact. Revolution as an ideal may be rejected mainly for two reasons. First of all, it is illogical for the same reason as that it is illogical to condemn a man to death for his crimes. How could damage ever be repaired by more damage? Revolution is also illogical in that it sacrifices the realities of the moment to a visionary future, which may never come. The *now* is the only reality it is in our power to deal with. Only in the *now* we can *do something*. Only in the *now* we can build. The future is a dream. It may never come. The revolutionist is an impractical dreamer, because he tries to escape from the *now* by destroying it in order that something-anything might come to be in a dream future. It is correct, however, to be instrumental in creating and building and to let the destructive forces take care of themselves. They are well capable of it, and serve a

useful purpose if allowed to work within their own natural laws.

Practical people consider only the moment itself as the time to work. It is only they who have the "long view". They try to build their ideal, their living vision of the perfect state, right here and now. As history has shown, this always bore fruit. But it remains to be seen whether a Camille Desmoulins and a Kerenski would have assisted in unloosing the revolutionary forces in France and Russia if they could have foreseen all the cultural waste.

Righteous indignation is a valuable social power, provided it goes hand in hand with common sense. Otherwise it will be useless or even dangerous.

Destructive "ideals" have as a rule (perhaps unconscious) revengeful motives at their back, perhaps only rarely motives of selfish gain, and also rarely purer motives of despondency due to innate impatience and desire to play the part of Providence. Revolution provides an outlet for the primitive instincts of revenge, masquerading to some extent as public justice.

Political or revolutionary murder is really too easy a way to dispose of people. The "golden age" might, perhaps, be brought about by killing all who were not in accord with certain doctrines and able to live up to certain standards! But even then it is doubtful whether the few survivors would not begin to quarrel among themselves!

On a small scale, Russia is an illustration of this. A good many people of the old regime were killed in the days of the revolution. But at the present day the Communist Party in Soviet Russia is suffering most from elements within its own bosom. It is significant that most of the old-timers, faithful comrades of Lenin, have been executed in the course of the last few years or are living in exile. The ultra-revolutionists were called contra-revolutionists! It is not here the place to decide whether the fault lies with them or with the supreme power in the Party. Probably the fault lies very largely with the revolutionary spirit of the system. Of course, during the French Revolution the

great revolutionaries worked havoc with each others' lives on the fictitious charge that they were enemies of the State. But in Russia really very much the same has happened during a much longer period, after the revolution had been accomplished. Though, of course, one must recognize the value of some industrial and social experiments and achievements in Soviet Russia, one must equally well see the shadow sides of the system, and the irreparable debris of old culture upon which the new Russia was founded.

When a revolution has become history, all the useful outcomes may be added up. It is wrong to deduce from these the usefulness of revolution as such. In the other scale of the balance, the waste of wealth in the form of life and cultural matter has to be put. There is irreparable damage to the cultural traditions and possessions of a people apart from the toll of lives.

As I mentioned before, when there is a revolution in a country, it means that the country deserved it. There is the well-known saying that every nation has



the politics which it deserves, because they are of its own making.

But apart from the politics coloured by national traditions, characteristics and requirements, nations are apt to be infected to some extent by the political doctrines of other nations. Liberal, socialistic, communistic, fascist or national-socialist ideas and ideals are infective like diseases and like new religions, and in application they have — as all ideas and ideals — something of the nature of both. Such “infections” may cause endless complications, involving trouble and waste of time.

Hence politics in a given country have to be coined consciously on a basis of national traditions, national psychological characteristics and national needs, if they are wanted to be satisfactory. They must not be imported from abroad untranslating into the ways of expression and needs of the importing country.

Different countries, like individual people, suffer from different diseases. The medicine for one country may make the

disease of another worse. It may happen to be the same disease, but the stages may vary, and the wrong medicine applied at the wrong time may aggravate the trouble.

Formerly, Mussolini wisely said that "Fascism is not an export article," recognizing that though it was in his opinion the right thing for Italy, it might not be at that time for other States. There was a true insight into the nature of the "national" in this, which was shown to be lacking in National-socialism, always very keen to make converts in other countries. This it had in common with Communism. Communism, however, as I shall show elsewhere, of course not as it was spread abroad, but fundamentally, was not a political doctrine but an order of life, and as such international, whereas National-socialism was German in root and branch and political in nature.

In countries in North-Western Europe, National-socialism (or Fascism) was gaining ground in times of crisis until a short time ago, but eventually it was proved

that the new doctrines from abroad were not in keeping with the traditions and the national characteristics of the people of those countries. National-socialism undoubtedly had much to bring to Germany, but the traditions and the political needs of people like the British, the Belgians, the Dutch and the Scandinavians were so entirely different from those of the Germans that imperfect imitations of Nazi-ism (and Fascism) could not possibly appeal to those peoples. This was shown, for instance, conclusively in Holland. At the elections in 1935, the National-socialists became entitled to seven representatives in the Second House. At the elections in June 1937, very much against their own expectations, it turned out that they had lost half of their votes and could have only four representatives.

Speaking about the importation of foreign political doctrines, it is, perhaps, not out of place here to sound a note of warning to India. It is often a matter of wonder to me that Nationalistic India, so keen in rejecting and depreciating Western

things, is yet taking in and cherishing typical Western doctrines in its own bosom like Socialism and Communism or rather Sovietism. Though Socialism achieved great social-economical improvements in Europe in a particular period and Sovietism has succeeded in carrying out interesting industrial experiments, we must remember that Socialism was useful only at a particular stage of political constellation in Europe, and Sovietism was born and bred on Russian soil. In India, not only social conditions and needs are entirely different but politically it is in a much earlier or perhaps less deviated stage. It would be more dignified and more in keeping with true nationalism in India if it were inspired by ancient Indian traditions. The key to the solution of all problems of social and political relations in India is to be found in the doctrine of four natural classes and in the lessons of Indian History. I shall return to this in the next chapter. For the solution of industrial problems, the lessons of the West may be of great value to India though she must not forget that a good many

industrial problems have not yet been solved satisfactorily in the West.

As regards the spirit of Sovietism (or Communism, as commonly understood) I may just mention in passing that it is in discord with the spirit of Hinduism and the spirit of Islam. Lenin wrote that "materialism is the official philosophy of Soviet Russia". It is clear that this is in complete opposition to the fundamentals of the various Hindu schools and sects. Religious persecution (which now seems to have come to an end in Russia at last) is in striking opposition to the spirit of tolerance and religious freedom in Hinduism. The doctrine of class struggle is entirely opposed to the ancient Hindu conceptions of cultural classes in an organic whole. The spirit of Communism is also in opposition to the fundamental principle of Islam of peaceful renunciation to the Will of God. As Assad Bey, a German traveller, who is a Muslim, remarked: The spirit of Lenin is in complete opposition to the spirit of Islam. The doctrine of class struggle is straight against the Islamic principle

that riches and poverty are nothing essential, but only chance and fate, that only the soul's attitude is of importance: the liberality of the well-to-do, the devout contentment of the poor, and the humility of both which consider themselves as brothers before God and act as such. The Islamic culture is the pride of the rich as well as of the poor. The spirit of Moscow cannot bear this culture.<sup>1</sup>

To return to our subject. The advocates of revolution may argue that sometimes destruction is necessary before something new can be built up, as for instance in the case of a house. And "after all the work of Shiva the Destroyer must be done"! But this work of "destruction" takes place in order that life may be liberated and the light of the spirit shine. There is no element of speculation in it. When the house is pulled down, it is certain that the neighbouring house will not tumble down too, the architect's drawings of the new house are lying ready as well as the building material,

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<sup>1</sup> *Essad Bey* (Wolfgang Von Weisl), *Allah ist gross!*

and the contractor is prepared to start work.

When the revolutionary forces are unshackled, however, a few people may have hazy ideas about things to come, but the greater number of the people are swept away by the contagious influences of mass psychology, manifesting in the way of least resistance by giving in to cheap passions. Conscious control of events is lost, intelligence is overcome by a play of conflicting group-emotions, the shadows in the Collective Unconscious come to the foreground.

There may, however, also be revolutions which are bloodless and at which conscious guidance is not lost. The Fascist revolution in Italy and the National-socialist revolution in Germany may be called imperfect examples of this. Such revolutions come at a given moment as the natural result of an advanced change in discernment of a nation. Long years of slow influencing of public opinion and of gradual preparations in the Social Unconscious will lead up to the natural fruition. It is like

birth, the result of a long evolutionary process. The leaders need only be partly conscious of the deeper issues.

Other revolutions, however, may be likened to a forced abortion. The mother (the old regime) will die or be heavily injured by the premature birth, and the child (the new system) may not even live, or if it lives, be a cripple for life. In the "perfect" revolution, the mother ought to feed and educate the child.

Such a period of preparation in conscious and unconscious realms the brotherhood of nations has now entered in, in order that some day in the near future the World-State may be born.

The two types of revolution we have dealt with are really the extremes of the shadowy revolution of the underman and the intelligent revolution of the conscious social worker. All historical revolutions were something between these two extremes, some having more of the nature of the one, some of the nature of the other.

Man has to be extremely careful with revolutionary ideals. There is nothing



noble and dignified in bloodshed, passion and destruction. On the other hand, there is nothing more noble and more dignified than harmlessness, patient suffering and sacrifice for the ideal of co-operation, and continuous burning idealism in personal example. It is infinitely more difficult, consequently it requires more courage and manliness and thus it brings far more satisfaction.

In conclusion, let us consider for a moment the various conceptions of Communism. It has now become identical with Sovietism. But at the heart of the pure conception of Communism is the vision of a state of human affairs in which man is a fully socializing being, identifying himself with humanity and with his society more in particular, and deriving his motives of action and his enjoyment from this sense of unity with his fellow-beings. In my next book, shortly to be published, I shall deal with this state of affairs and consider it from all possible points of view, as possibly having existed in the dawn of man's history as an unconscious state and as

possibly being the ultimate goal of humanity in the far future in a fully conscious form. The Golden Age myths and legends of peoples of all five Continents (including, of course, the paradise-myth) form a store of memories of that Age in which tribal man was in very much the same state of harmony with his fellows as is the case with the social animals (ants, bees, deer, elephants, etc., etc.) In addition, of course, man had emotional and spiritual assets which the animals are lacking.

All through the history of the human race, man has been dreaming about re-establishing that state of cosmic and social-mystic unity implying perfectly harmonious human relations. The Kingdom-of-Heaven-on-Earth of the Christ, Ram Rajya of the Hindus (the rule of Rama), the fundamental inspirations in the various ancient and modern Utopias and in Communism and Socialism, are all visions of that Golden Age. Some more, some less perfect. Lao-Tze's stage of the "unnoticed rulers" which I quoted on page 68 also applies to this.

In any case it is a matter of common sense that Golden Age conditions can never be brought about either by law or lawlessness, or by force of any kind. Man of the present age is simply not ripe for such a state. But the elements of it are within his own bosom and are to be consciously drawn out and developed by the leaders of humanity, so that they may come to full fruition in an age in the future when human nature will have changed and become as different from that of civilized man of the present time, as that is different from the nature of the primitive savage.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE COMING STAGE IN WORLD POLITICS

**B**EFORE embarking upon the subject of this chapter, I have to apologize for or rather explain the seeming element of prophecy in its title. However much correct (perhaps) in the mouth of a politician, prophecies are decidedly wrong in the writings of a sociologist.

It is very useful, however, to make a study of social and political trends and tendencies and their gradual development, and, at the hand of historical analogy, to try to follow these trends and tendencies into the future to their conclusion as seems logical. Some great modern sociologists have written books containing significant and valuable warnings. Tomorrow is in a way already there to-day for those who have been trained to see.

A politician is a person who advocates a political doctrine and tries to put it into practice. Most members of a political party do not know very much or even

anything about the programme of their party and the philosophical basis of its political creed. They follow the glamour of a name. They are Socialists or Liberals or Conservatives or Imperialists or Communists because they have a "participation mystique" with some particular group of people or are prejudiced against some other group. The latter may be the fashion at the time. So many people belong to a party not because they have laid all the political creeds side by side and thought them out systematically, but because they are swept along by some group-idea. If you ask them to give a definition or explanation of their political creed, they will be completely at sea and each give a different one. A few only will have the courage to say that they do not know much really but follow because they like a particular leader.

But if politics is a battlefield of human interests and consequently of passions, sociology on the other hand is a peaceful house of study.

The sociologist is a man who does not allow himself to have any "political

feelings" and who tries to think objectively, *i.e.*, along scientific lines. He tests all the political creeds and the practical work of parties and finds them all correct in some ways and all incorrect or inconsequent in other ways. If he is true to his profession, he has no prejudices against any social group and does not allow himself to let his likes or dislikes interfere with his sense of justice. It will be difficult for him, if at all possible, to take part in practical politics because his task is to be an observer. He will watch the political "battles" from a distance dispassionately and his social sympathies will be with the members of all parties and communities. If asked seriously, and if he thinks it fit, he may criticize, but only constructively, and he may give hints indiscriminately to all. As such he might sometimes be an intermediary between leaders, though never on a political basis.

To understand the political situation of the present day it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of the political history of the last 3,000 years. Three thousand years

ago there were already one or two republics but everywhere there was an aristocracy. The republics were aristocratic in nature unlike most of the republics of modern times. But as a rule there were kingdoms or empires (Imperialism is not modern). The kings had almost full authority. Their power depended largely upon the aristocracy. In a subtler way it often depended upon the priesthood. Though sometimes, like in Egypt, the King was at the same time the High Priest, yet he could not make any important move which was against the interests of the priesthood which in those days represented culture and science. Priests were present at every court of antiquity as guides and advisers. In India, ancient kings and emperors of Hindu, of Buddhist as well as of Moslem faith, had their advisers in the persons of wise priests or sages.

Aristocracy in those days was largely a matter of valour, personal sacrifice and wise rule. Tact was one of the main requirements. The Kshatriya (second Varna: nobility, military group) is not for nothing called the "protector" of men

in the Hindu scriptures. He served the community with his power and was always ready to sacrifice his life-blood. Hence he was highly esteemed.

In our modern days of much "confusion of cultural classes", however, the military group, internationally speaking, cannot be considered as the protective group any more. This class has become so aggressive in spirit, or such an instrument in aggressive hands and wields such powers that often it is worse than useless. Poison gas and bombs wipe off whole cities of harmless private people. Of course, it is much exaggerated, but the saying that in the modern war the safest places will be found in the trenches, is yet significant.

In ancient days aristocracy had to be acquired by hard work. Examinations had to be passed as it were. The fighters had to prove their mettle and win their spurs. It was not a matter of mere brute force, however. The mediæval knight in Europe for instance had to win his nobility through his chivalrous deeds; he did not become a nobleman automatically because his father happened to be one. He had to give a



demonstration of his valour, of his chivalry, and of his capacities to serve, and only then he was considered fit to lead, command and rule men. In other countries the custom was very much the same. Sometimes the tests were of the highest severity. For the choice of the next Imperial Inca of Peru, for instance, the eligible boys of the pure Inca blood were subjected to a course of rigorous discipline, physical as well as moral. The boy who stood the often terrible tests best and proved himself the noblest and physically hardest was appointed successor to the living Son the Sun.

At a later stage of the history of aristocracy, we find the hereditary nobility, amassing wealth and power, and gradually retreating from the practical work of protection and leadership to a life of leisure and luxury. If at first it may have brought some progress to the arts and sciences, later it tended towards a staleness of culture. If the knights of earlier times were conscious of fighting under the banner of God, either for the Cross, or for the Crescent or for Hindu Dharma, the

nobles of later days largely lost their contact with religion. Instead of living for the common good, they began to live their own lives. From the time of their loss of identification with their people the social balance was broken. The confusion of natural classes began. Some show of religion was usually kept up, but it had lost the note of personal and direct commission from God and sense of responsibility to Him, of the early knight. Militarism meanwhile became a profession, often very much as butchery and burglary are professions. Only in our present age with more humanitarian ideas and more discipline, the military profession has been lifted up considerably, only to become more terrible through more dangerous arms and ways of warfare.

In our present age practically all tests of nobility of character have fallen away. Valour on the battlefield is still rewarded with distinctions, usefulness in public service is still recognized by titles, at least in a few countries. But these are poor remnants of glorious customs. Except the military tests — almost wholly

left to chance — all tests have become intelligence tests. The tests of character and sociality have changed into tests of powers of thought and memorization. The tests of practical demonstration in life have changed into tests on paper. Only the priesthood may provide exceptions. Of course, except in religions where it became a hereditary class like in Hinduism, there tests dropped out practically altogether.

When the aristocrats began to live their own lives, in some places they developed tendencies to become corrupt in various ways and to oppress the people. Their ways of life naturally led to discontent on the part of the people. In those countries where they strayed furthest from the ideals of true aristocracy, great revolutions had to come. France gave the lead. For the time being, the French revolution relieved the social tensions in Europe. But the "industrial revolution" and the mechanic age evolved new problems of human exploitation and social tension. The great Liberals were the first to bring the ideas of freedom and

human value that were in the air into practical politics. The Liberals paved the way for the Socialists. Louder and louder became the voice of the working classes which had been suppressed and exploited.

The Church meanwhile had gone through a period of political sovereignty, which is not the function of the highest cultural class. In India, there has never been a political rule of Brahmans. In Europe at one time the Church assumed full temporal power. Later, though it lost in most countries political sovereignty, it exercised on the whole a very great political or social power, especially in the Roman Catholic countries and in Russia. In some cases it could in fact be called a social tyranny. The outbreak against the Jesuit Order in France, the Russian Revolution and more recently the first stage of the revolution in Spain were outcomes of it, the latter two outbursts, of course, only to some extent.

Both the religious classes and the ruling classes had in the course of time swerved from the social duties of the

two higher cultural classes. Confusion of natural classes had led in some countries to such disturbances of the social balance as could no more be relieved by ordinary means. Revolutions had become inevitable. In some other countries, however, social relations had not become so unhealthy.

But society cannot get along without its true Brahmanas and its true Kshatriyas, without its spiritual-educational and its political leaders of nobility of character.

The lower classes came to the foreground, clamouring for justice. Of course, quite rightly! But where the masses were let loose they became like an avalanche. And where they were kept under control and politically remained a minority party, in the course of time, when their main objects had been achieved, their leaders in many places tended to become bonzes.

Ruling powers had first been in the hands of the Aristocracy. Next they had passed into the hands of the industrial and economical leaders. Next it began to

look as if they would pass into the hands of the working classes, and in a few countries in fact this happened.

But the function of ruling and regulating human affairs is the natural task of people who have the capacity and the character required for such a difficult position and have no personal preferences for or prejudices against any social group. Consequently the reaction in society to the rule of both capital and labour was that certain elements from the ruling and regulating Varna came forward to take the ruling and regulating powers out of the hands of the other two groups.

Soviet Russia provides one example of this. At the present day the "freed people" and its leaders are held down by the strong hand of Stalin. Something like this was inevitable. The Fascist countries provide a much better illustration, however. Fascism and National-Socialism may, perhaps, be understood to be at heart endeavours of persons belonging to the ruling and regulating Varna to redress the "confusion of natural classes" as regards matters of government. It is unnatural that

persons of the producing and distributing classes should lead, direct or even criticize Government policy or measures. It is illogical that the voice of an unskilled labourer, which is of no account in the management or policy of the very factory in which he is employed, should be listened to as regards affairs of the State, and should — as a vote — be of equal weight to that of a Professor of Politics. Fascism and National-Socialism were conscious experiments to remedy this inconsistency. Parliamentarism — founded upon the assumed right and right views of the greatest number — was abolished in the Fascist and National-Socialist countries. Parliamentarism, the "Ism of talking", development of society in an advanced state of confusion of natural classes, was superseded by the rule of one man and his friends.

So far all is well — perhaps. But the Fascist and the National-Socialist regimes suffer from two shortcomings (which they share remarkably with their supposed antipode: Soviet-Communism). The ideals of human freedom were too

lightly brushed aside. Modern man is a democrat in his heart, though his mind may suggest to him something more practical and consistent. He does not like to see the rights of freedom and the recognition of individual value, obtained with such pains and trouble, vanish so easily and self-evidently. It goes too much against his feelings. The second shortcoming of those new regimes, to some extent an outcome of the first, was that the ruling class in its assumed supremacy began to dictate to the conscience of the people. It began to proclaim the State to be superior to the community, and its officers to be the supreme authority in all departments of life. But the State must not aim for spiritual power just like the Church must not aim for temporal power. It is to the credit of Mussolini that he drew a sharp line between the domain of the State and that of the Church, and his concordat with the Pope, making an end to the strained relations of many years' standing between Vatican and Quirinal, was a good piece of statesmanship.



The same cannot be said of Germany. Since the beginning of Nazi rule, there have been efforts on the part of the Government to make the people accept National-Socialism as a new and complete philosophy of life and practically as a new religion with Herr Hitler as the prophet. There have been constant efforts to make the Churches, Catholic as well as Protestant, bend and bow to the State and conform to its decrees. Much worse, of course, the situation was in Soviet-Russia, where, in the words of Lenin, "materialism is the official philosophy". Even after the Church in Russia had been purified and spiritualized by years of severe persecution, a "five-year plan" for the gradual and systematic wiping out of religion step by step was put into action. At present, in the very last stage of the plan, it seems that religious freedom has returned to Russia at last, if I am well informed.

In those countries, the class of ruling and regulating function was exalted to a supreme position. It was ignored that there is a class of people even

higher in the cultural hierarchy, whose task it is to lead and guide the social destiny and advise the class of rulers. In ancient governments, the priest or sage was always the moving and inspiring factor behind the throne. Though he did not rule, his criticism was always taken into account. In India, there was generally a healthy organic co-operation of Brahmans and rulers, or between Buddhist monks and rulers.

It is, of course, neither correct that any philosophical institution, sect or Church should dictate to the State, for such an Institution or Church need not necessarily correspond to the first and highest cultural class, if there is confusion of natural classes. Many persons and influences from lower natural classes may have crept into the established religion, as is in fact the case at the present time.

In Russia, the voice of the highest cultural class was not heard because too many belonging to that class were murdered or fled the country during the revolution. A new class of intellectual rulers came in the place of those who disappeared.

In Germany (and also to some extent in Italy) the voice of the highest cultural class was suppressed or ignored in many ways. For that reason those countries became so narrowly nationalistic in attitude. The highest cultural class forms a brotherhood of humanity, it is international in spirit. It can never tend towards aggression. Believers in war and conquest demonstrate that they do not belong to this class. The universality of that highest cultural class is shown most clearly by those of that class who are students of science. The class of scientists is really at the moment the most international of all classes. There is not American science, Japanese science, European science. There is only science. Every scientist benefits by the conclusions of scientists in many other parts of the world. Only recently there is the most regrettable phenomenon of a new "German science" which is really science prostituted according to the needs of Nazi-ism. I mean especially various theories of race in connection with the Jewish-Aryan controversy, and theories of law. As a protest to those developments,

scientific and educational institutions in various parts of the world have refused to send representatives to conferences or festive gatherings of scientists in Germany.

Now that I am writing about the fundamental shortcomings of the National-Socialist and Fascist systems, I must mention the economic policy of autarchy or economic self-sufficiency, an outcome of the mistaken conception of Nationalism I mentioned on page 21 and in the third Chapter. Its main idea is independence of the outside world with an eye on the possibility of war. Apart from the more commonly known examples of artificial agricultural and industrial protection, it sometimes leads to a most ridiculous pushing of substitutes. A recent instance is the German Government's propagation and enforcement of artificial wool, made from wood. It is called Zellwolle (cellular wool). Though its price is much higher than true wool, its quality inferior and its use decidedly unpleasant, the Government has decreed that in future all articles of wool have to be mixed to a certain percentage with this "cellular wool", and shop-keepers

are prohibited to advertise articles of "pure wool" or "true wool" in their shop windows. Sometimes, however, a substitute may prove to be better and cheaper than the original article. Autarchic principles are found all over the world, however, and are not exclusive characteristics of the new systems. Russia, being a continent in itself, can afford to help itself to some extent. Yet the autarchic tendency in that country is not so strong, and dependence on the supplies of other countries is often recognized and embodied in treaties.

Between the lines I just want to mention that if I criticize those new political systems objectively, this has nothing to do with my personal admiration for personalities like Mussolini and Hitler. My object is clarity, and there is no connection between that and personal feelings except that both lead to the social good. Apart from this, any objective observer has to acknowledge that the above-mentioned personalities have done very much for the good of their countries. But this does not mean

that their systems have no blemishes as they would make their subjects believe. I sincerely hope that those systems will grow and evolve to the good of those nations and of the world.

Having mentioned some of the shortcomings of the National-Socialist regime, it is only fair to mention some of its achievements. It would take too much time, of course, to recount all its merits. The greatest is probably that the Fuhrer has given a renewed self-confidence to the German people, and its post-war sense of inferiority had to make place for a realization of national worth and a new self-respect. As a social leader, he realized the organic relationship of man and woman in the family and through it in the community, and went against the unnatural modern notion of equality of the sexes. His influence purified various unnatural outgrowths of modern art, mainly in music and painting, though as a rule, of course, any kind of State interference or regulation in the domain of art is highly objectionable from the point of view of art. In many ways

he gave a new ideal to the people. He also won their love through the institution of free holiday tours on a large scale within Germany and by pleasure steamers even to far-off countries. His labour camps improved the health and stimulated the manly capacities of his people.

The reaction in other countries to the shadow-sides of the Fascist systems was a rallying of the forces of democracy. In all the different political movements of the present time, continually evolving subtle reactions to each other, one general tendency on the part of the people may be noticed. It is a desire for integrity of character in its rulers. Indignation at the corruption or desperation about the weakness of the ruling group is always found at the root of a new system. The secret of the success of leaders like Mussolini and Hitler lies in the magic of their personality. They are not at all sages, but they are visionaries with the power in them to mould their vision to some extent into some practical shape. They were followed, because they had the.

proper "participation mystique" with the people, and came as embodiments of desires in the collective psyche of the people. They were admired because they led pure lives. They were vegetarians and lived in relative retirement, giving their full time to hard work for the State and sacrificing much of personal comfort and pleasure. Such things never fail to impress the people.

There are subtle dangers for a powerful leader, however. The main one is that he may develop into a dictator, who has lost the depth of "participation mystique" with his people. The homage and admiration of his nation may go to his head and bring him to believe himself to be a fountain of supreme knowledge and power in his country, not to be questioned at all, not even by foreigners! He may have to learn that supremacy has become a relative thing in the modern world. The days of Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire and Genghis Khan are past, as already Napoleon had to learn to his cost.



To ensure against untimely decomposition of personality, most democratic countries either by law or by tradition have fixed a limited number of years of office for their President, Prime Minister or Governors. Roosevelt is as great a leader as Mussolini or Hitler, but unless the political system of the United States changes altogether, he will never have the chance to become a dictator, with the advantages of dictatorship in unsettled times and its drawbacks, supposing his personality held the possibility of developing the latter.

A voter of his constituency once said to the British Fascist leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, at a meeting: "We might be willing to give you a chance, but once you would be there, how could we ever get rid of you again?" That is exactly the trouble with the Fascist leaders.

At any case at the present time, it is evident that humanity is calling for leaders of the purer and nobler type. In the heart of man is an urge to bow to people of high character and to worship the hero. It is an ancient urge, which has been somewhat in the

background in more recent periods of history, because the urge to worship one's own achievements and the tendency to consider oneself as good as anybody else were predominant. Modern man transferred heroism to the stage and more recently to the screen, or to the ring, the race course and the playing field. Moral and social heroism of leaders and scholars has not been much appreciated, unless it smacked of the sensational like Piccard's flight to the stratosphere. How many, however, appreciate the heroism of a Louis Pasteur, a David Livingstone, a Dr. and Madame Curie, and hundreds or even thousands more of a more recent date? In such times there are cults of dead heroes like Napoleon or of expected heroes, like Messiahs, since the urge is always present, though it may have been suppressed to some extent into the unconscious.

At the present day, however, there are many signs that a renewed urge and a desire to be led and to pay homage is coming forth again out of the human soul. In accordance with recent psychological

researches, there seems to be an intimate connection between the need of the time and the leaders who arise. They are as it were the crystallization of the conscious and unconscious desires of the people. The people are calling out the elements of leadership in the leaders, who might never have the chance to develop them otherwise and so remain unknown. Also the leader is chosen — partly consciously partly unconsciously—on the part of the people, because he appeals to them. It is a matter of supply and demand. A self-styled leader can never have any grip of the people, however, except of the suggestionable few.

The same applies undoubtedly to religious leaders.

There are a million subtle psychic links between people and between the individual and the various forms of the collective. Modern researches have come to remarkable conclusions, upsetting the conclusions of the older schools that men were more or less separate individuals. Society is now realized to be a giant psychic entity, in which individuals are living like cells,

mostly under the illusion of separate-ness, but nevertheless bound by an infinite number of subtle links in the unconscious.

Very significant at the present day is the admiration of and personal devotion in accordance with the national genius to leaders and dictators, like Mussolini, Hitler, Kemal Ataturk, Stalin, Salazar, Roosevelt, Ibn-Saud, Batista of Cuba and so many others, and to dead and deified leaders like Lenin and Sun-yat-sen. In India, one has the worshipful love for leaders of the character of a Mahatma Gandhi and a Jawaharlal Nehru. In other countries the same tendency manifests in a different way, always, of course, in accordance with the tradition and psyche of the nation in question. Great Britain recently witnessed impressing demonstrations of devotion to the Royal House. In Holland recently, there was a tremendous outburst of feelings of royalism at the occasion of the marriage of the Crown-princess Juliana. Similar demonstrations of loyalty were seen in other countries. Republics have again become kingdoms, like Greece,

and it is not unlikely that Hungary may follow before long.

Whether the going back to an older form of government will be socially beneficent is yet the question and will depend upon the personal character of the kings returning to authority.

In these various new phenomena we may recognize a tendency to acknowledge the merits of superior rulership and a desire and willingness to be guided and led and even to obey.

The modern type of king, politically and in matters of enactment directly perhaps of no great account, is socially however of the greatest importance. In Great Britain, the King and Queen represent the national ideal of the perfect gentleman and lady and of every element of character to be highly valued by the nation. Their unseen influence on the various departments of life of the people of British tradition within the Empire is far greater than one commonly realizes. In Holland, the House of Orange is a symbol of national freedom and

unity and of the national genius of simplicity, tolerance and liberality. It holds a subtle psychic leadership beyond the party-political, beyond "isms", races or movements, even beyond the fashions of the time. Recently this was even openly and revolutionarily acknowledged by one of the labour leaders in the country in the organ of the Labour Party.

Rulers like these, like those of Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, like that of Bulgaria, of Japan, and last but not least in India like those of Mysore and Travancore are, indeed, "rulers by the grace of God", conscious of their responsibility as father and guide of the people, before all by personal example. The modern king of the better type is not a political figure-head, as many modern writers would make us believe. Students of social psychology have to acknowledge their deep-going influence. In fact, they tend to approach to some extent the "unnoticed rulers" of Lao-Tze (quoted on page 68), while so many of the party politicians in their countries strive for

the exclusive benefits of their particular social group or community and thus commit blunder upon blunder from the standpoint of the human family as a whole. They take the blame or pocket the praise while the throne above them is the stable element of peace and immortal culture in the State, connecting the nation through similar centres to other nations in the family of humanity.

Another phenomenon of the present day is worth to be noticed. The modern democratic kingdoms of the West and the republics to a far greater extent have given up the pomp and splendour and the aureole of greatness of the systems from which they sprang. But it is a curious fact that there is a psychological necessity for them. The East has preserved its impressing pageantry and grandeur in many countries, but life in the West has become rather colourless and commonplace. But there is a great need for the more wonderful aspects of life in the popular psyche. After the wave of "equality" had subsided in the West, people began to search for ancient

customs reflecting greatness and glory. It led to more interest in or the revival of ancient customs in various countries, like Great Britain and Germany.

In newer countries where they were lacking man searched for new kinds of expression and created all kinds of substitutes. In America, for instance, that supposedly most republican of countries, one finds curious social phenomena. In every place of any importance, one will find a number of half-secret societies on a hierarchic basis far from republican in spirit. They have all kinds of aims and purposes. The members are largely matter-of-fact office clerks, bent over their desk for six days in the week. On Sunday, however, they will go to their club-house or meeting place and don some particular costume, often quite fantastic, as a rule inspired by uniforms or dresses of centuries ago. These costumes are often covered with mysterious symbols. The fellows have titles in accordance with these, or names to delight the imagination. All having their own hierarchy, one can find every sort, from "Super Cave-man" over "King of



Diamonds" to "Grand-master of the Exalted Order of the Mystic Point", and so on. It is all play, but a play which is full of the most complicated ritual and which is taken very seriously. Of course, it satisfies psychological needs. It provides a pleasant escape from the commonness and colourlessness of every-day life. If a real prince goes to America, the mere title will be sufficient to provide him a rousing reception.

All this is only a matter of substitute, which does not mean that it has not to be taken equally seriously as that which should be there in its stead.

It may even lead to it in the course of time. Everywhere man (and woman!) have the same need to see differences, to admire titles and to love leaders and heroes.

It is the task of the social guides, the people of the highest cultural class, not to stimulate these tendencies, neither to make them ridiculous or to look down upon them, but to take them into account first and next to try to ennoble them, to transmute them to superior

forms of expression for high ends of humanity.

In recent years, the Fascist and National-Socialist Governments as well as the Soviet Russian Government have often given public displays of a grand nature. Being at heart proletarian, they sought their impressiveness in the power of number. But they learned the secret of the magic of thoroughly disciplined numbers, and of the appeal of good artistic sittings of simplicity of form and greatness of size. Being more than proletarian, however, they made the most of the personalities of their leaders.

But not only in the States with new regimes there are impressive Government functions having the emotional support of the people. States with older regimes have inherited traditions from the past, which tend to be much more appreciated now than they used to be even a short time ago. Great Britain recently witnessed the highly symbolical and deeply impressive Coronation of its King, taken part in even more deeply and thoroughly by the British people than expected.

There are signs that the ruling and governing powers in the world are slowly going over into the hands of a new nobility, which we can now watch gradually coming forward out of *all* classes. Quite a few belong to aristocratic and patrician families, conscious of their heritage. A good number come from intellectual circles. It is also a sign of great cheer that so many are coming from the labour classes. The third "Varna", upto now lost behind the screen of the population classes, is again forming a new class of rulers and governors. There is a great need for it and a great desire on the part of the people, and consequently a response.

The same applies to the highest cultural class. It is clear that a new class of devotees of Truth in any of its aspects is slowly evolving from among the leaders of all religions, out of scientific and literary circles and other groups. Its beacon-heads are great leading scientists and writers, and people like Kagawa and Mahatma Gandhi (who also undoubtedly belong to the highest cultural class and not to the ruling and regulating Varna). This class

is international in spirit and consequently the peace of the world and the possibility of consolidating the World-State rests on the shoulders of its representatives, known or unknown in the world.

It is not at all unlikely that the trends and the tendencies I have mentioned above will grow and become riper and more manifest, in proportion to their becoming more and more conscious. In fact, one may well expect this. Men are beginning to feel, and will have to realize much more clearly again that the population classes in society and the races and nations in the world are not natural enemies but have to be co-operators in the common cause of well-being. The only true "commonwealth" is the common weal of the world. Until this is generally realized again, not only by the responsible cultural classes, but due to their endeavours also by the others, the world will witness the one political reaction to the other, in national as well as in international relations, entailing tremendous social suffering and waste of cultural material.

It will have to be recognized that the four fundamental social groups or Varnas, the natural or cultural classes, as I have called them, are like different members or organs of one body, each indispensable for the health and well-being of the whole and as it were in duty bound to keep to its own special contribution.

The next stage in world-politics, if and when people have the common sense to let it come, will develop a ruling and regulating class duly advised and led by the spiritual-intellectual class and preventing criticism by the ignorant, *i.e.*, combining the benefits of the different regimes of the present day and evading their mistakes. The Press undoubtedly ought to be free, and its criticism, provided it is tolerant, liberal, unprejudiced and constructive, and representative of public opinion as led by the higher cultural classes, is a most valuable socializing influence. On the other hand it is natural that a government would desire to prevent criticism which comes from the side of particular party interests, from people prejudiced against

the interests of other parties and not taking into account the well-being of the whole. The Press may be a most beneficial or a highly anti-social power. It will be beneficial if it is in the hands of the highest cultural class, it will be pernicious if its sources are ignorant and its motives impure and selfish, in other words, if it is mixed up with confusion of natural classes. Even then criticism is not unhealthy, provided it reaches only the people it applies to and does not poison public opinion. But the latter is just the trouble! Generally speaking, of course, curtailment of the freedom of the Press is a sign of weakness on the part of a government. The comic drawings and caricatures of leaders in the newspapers may also be either constructive or anti-social. They will be the latter if they aim at adversely diminishing the dignity of or the respect for leaders. Their true function is really very much the same as that of the court-jester at courts of past ages, and like that of the mirror mentioned by me in the Introduction to this book. The perfect fool, who

stands truly above the things of this world, is really a valuable member of the highest cultural class!

In that next stage humanity will realize again that the higher the place on the cultural ladder, the more self-sacrificing people will have to be and the more difficult and exacting in many ways life will be for them. Consequently, people will not desire (as now) to climb the social ladder (to achieve power and enjoy privileges), but will realize the increasing responsibilities with increasing position. Hence, with a diminishing confusion of natural classes, there will be more and more class-contentment and class-co-operation instead of class-struggle as was the case in the past. The tendency of the present day is quite clear. It will be seen more and more, that rulership with its responsibilities and its constant demands on the personality is a matter of tremendous sacrifice. The ruler has constantly to forget his own inclinations to think of the good of the country. In fact, both ought to become practically identical, as could be expected to be the case in the

ideal ruler. Japan has evolved a whole system of philosophy of rulership, which in recent times seems again to be coming more to the foreground. It is the political-philosophical doctrine of the Kwodo, the "Imperial Path".

As regards the exacting demands of rulership, there is probably no ruler in the world who is so hard-worked as President Roosevelt. When we read reports about his daily task, we wonder how a human being can possibly stand the strain. From the moment he gets out of bed early in the morning till three or four o'clock at night he is uninterruptedly "at it" and has no "personal life" at all. In such cases, the existence of a limited term of office must be a blessing.

If the life of the rulers is an exacting and hard one, the life of the people of the highest cultural class is in some ways even harder. Only the morally purest and noblest must be expected of them. One has to read in the Hindu Scriptures the high qualifications of a true Brahmana to be able to understand this fully. The standard was made so high that no one



would desire to belong to that community who had not the character and the moral force to keep up that standard. The hereditary law, however, brought down the actual standard of the Brahman class as a whole considerably. Just as was the case with the hereditary aristocracy in Europe, in the course of time there was a tendency to lay more stress on social privileges than on social responsibilities.

To return to rulership. It is most likely that the ruler of the next stage will not rule because he himself *desires* to rule, but because he is chosen to rule by common consent of his people by virtue of his superior life. What form or forms of government that next stage will bring is as yet hard to imagine. But it is very likely that at the head of each Government there will be a very few people only and probably only *one person*, because the world-tendency is towards a renewed manifestation of the cultural hierarchy in the social constitution. Whether this "monarch" in the true sense of the word will be called a King, a

President, a "Leader", an Emperor, or a Premier, does not really matter. These words have only psychological importance in accordance with popular traditions and prejudices. But one thing will be sure, the ruler will reign by common consent of all classes and by virtue of his superior character. Mankind is getting too tired of corrupt or weak rulers.

Taking into account the various tendencies which we can see at the present day, we may expect as their logical fruition in the course of time the foundation of a World-State. It seems to be the only satisfactory solution of the problems of the present day. Much rather than dreaming about it as a Utopia, man of the present day should coolly consider its possibilities and realize its likeliness, in being the only alternative to the perpetual menace of war and social chaos, supposing it should only remain a menace, and war and chaos be confined to local conflagrations as is the case at the present day.

Clever calculators like Carlton Brown in "The Fight" are doing much service

to humanity. He came to the following conclusion. The gross direct expenses of the World War came to \$32,080,266,986,<sup>1</sup>. Dr. N. Murray Butler, however, calculated that the War cost in all 30 million human lives and 400 milliard dollars in goods. If those 400 milliard had been used for constructive purposes, it would have been possible to give a house to the value of \$2,500, furnished for \$1,000, on a piece of land of 2 *hectare* (nearly 5 acres) for a price of \$250 per *hectare*, as a present to every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia. After this had been done, there would have been sufficient money left to give to every town of above 200,000 inhabitants in all those countries, a library of \$500,000 and a university of \$10,000,000. And then there would have been left a sufficiently big sum to pay out of the 5 per cent. interest the salaries of 125,000 lecturers and teachers and 125,000 nurses, to each \$1,000 a year. And after all this had

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1 To get the amount in rupees, multiply by 2·68.

been done, there would still have been left a sufficient sum to buy all the valuable possessions of France and Belgium · all houses, farms, manufacturing works, churches, public buildings, railways etc., in those two countries in the year 1914!

The "ifs", of course, are only of practical value as regards the "*If* we could prevent another, of course, even much more terrible, world-war, in what a tremendous way we would benefit!" The *we* not only applied collectively but to every man individually in his own place!

Idealism has not been able to achieve much in preventing war, since it has often run into channels of mistaken nationalism and been misapplied for anti-social ends. It seems to me that common sense and cool calculation will be more successful in bringing about the foundation of the World-State. If man, the pre-eminently thinking being, is not able to realize his own interest, collective as well as individual, he is not worthy to occupy his position on this planet any longer.

Thus, unless the under-man triumphs with his destructive passions, and poison gas and anarchy bring about the end of Western civilization and a general set-back to world-culture, the future political formation in the world will securely lead to the manifestation of the World-State. If a greater application of common sense is added to the various tendencies we have considered in this chapter, the future need not be a source of anxiety, but man may confidently look to his own unfoldment.

It is the powers in the Collective Unconscious that will decide the face of the future. Will the power of the shadows be stronger than that of the great socializing and humanitarian impulses? To say the least, it is not likely. It is more likely that humanity is, indeed, at the beginning of a new era — an era of practical brotherhood and co-operation.

Meanwhile many thinkers and many idealists are cogitating about the World-State to come. Let me only bring forward a few fundamental points. It will have to consist of four fundamental departments

—such would be ideal—in accordance with the four cultural classes. The Department of Production should be an international institution devoted to the regulation of the production in all parts of the world—in accordance with climate, resources, psychological suitability and least cost. This department should work in close co-operation with the second, the Department of Distribution, which should supervise the distribution of raw materials and products in accordance with needs. An International Bank should be connected with it. The third Department should consist of a College of Rulers or their plenipotentiary representatives under the presidency of each of them in turn or an international personality chosen on account of the eminence of his character, the depth of his wisdom, and his sense of justice. This College of Regents should be the supreme authority over the other two departments and settle international disputes in addition to solving problems of over-population and emigration. The fourth Department should be purely advisory and consist of an international

"parliament" of leading personalities from all countries in the fields of religion, philosophy, social and economic sciences, psychology, education, art and natural science, etc. Whole sub-departments of social service of the present League of Nations could be adapted to and accommodated in that Department, which might become a kind of Rotary Centre on a large scale. The task and function of that Department would be the care of the treasures of national and world culture and the guidance of public opinion. Much care should, of course, be taken that this Department be completely flexible, free from organizationalism and not touched by the rule and line of St. Bureaucratius.

One of the main tasks of the founders of the World-State would be to centralize the finance of the world. It is not so difficult to imagine the functioning of an International Bank of Issue, providing international money, which would at the same time be a Clearing Bank. It would come into the place of the various national banks of the world. It is most difficult, however, to conceive and plan the gradual

transition from the present complicated economic system to such a centralized world system. If in the long run it probably does not matter very much whether the monetary basis be gold, as at the present time, or, as suggested by various economists, nitrogen, rice or wheat, or human life, in the transitional stage it will matter very much, and it would undoubtedly cause endless new complications if experiments were carried out in substituting gold by something else. Eventually international finance might be able to or might have to run without a gold basis, even without the basis of any one article at all but on a basis of a group and scale of products or of possessions of economic or cultural wealth, the value of each of which would go up or down, but, taken as a whole, would be pretty constant.

At the present day, the world-tendency seems to be very much towards State-ism. Due to its consequences the League of Nations has lost much of its popular consideration. The International Courts are much handicapped. There are many



great personalities and movements, however, working in the direction we have indicated. The State has in some countries been exalted over the community, as the Totalitarian State it has been blown up to dangerous forms. Relief can be given only in some degree of political centralization in the direction of a World-State and decentralization in the direction of local government.

In some cases in which the freedom of initiative and power of industrial magnates had to be curtailed the State formed undoubtedly an improvement. But in the long run the State tends to fall into the the same or equally unpleasant errors, and the only satisfactory solution can lie in an international institution like the Fourth Department of the World-State mentioned.

In conclusion a few words about democracy. Except in those countries where democracy has proved a failure and had to be followed by other political experiments, or is still dragging on in a corrupt form, democracy still seems to be the most efficient and most flexible of

the systems of the present day. The word democracy still appeals to the average man of to-day who is a democrat in his heart, grateful for the achievements of this great movement. Democracy gives a feeling of security and safety.

The new "democratic" constitution of Stalin gives the impression that its intention is to give a kind of new sanction to a long existing condition. It gives universal suffrage. But it makes it possible to vote only for the representatives of one party. Thus the voters may only choose between a few personalities, all of whom are sure to be reliable members of the Communist Party. The Constitution contains a solemn declaration of freedom of the Press. But it is not quite clear how that freedom is conceived since only Soviet papers are allowed to see the light. Also it contains a declaration about religious freedom, but gives support to the anti-religious movement and prohibits religious propaganda! It is clear that this is only democracy in name. Modern days have produced strange systems indeed.

Stranger still is the present regime in Austria. It represents the only perfect dictatorship in the world. Mussolini and Hitler, and now also Stalin, have wanted at least once in a while some kind of symbolic eye on the part of the people, but in Austria voting has been abolished altogether. The President nominates the members of the "Parliament", the judges and the civil servants, his decrees have practically supreme power and can even alter the Constitution. This almighty ruler himself is not even elected by the people. Once a man of wit in Vienna proposed to add another Article to the Constitution. "The President nominates the people!" In spite of all this, however, Austria still counts very much in the eyes of the world as a democratic country.

The particular "Ism" in power or in vogue in a country does not seem to matter very much. If the people at the top are of the right sort, they will manage with the worst system, if they are not the right sort, even the best system will not ensure social harmony and well-being. For instance, it is not "capitalism" which

is wrong but it is the selfish personality of a few people of that particular class. The same applies to many other "isms". But people are beginning to realize that it is useless to blame ideas. They see more and more that it is people only who must be blamed in their personal life, their motives and their example, if any blaming is to be done at all !

Democracy is functioning best of all in those countries which have since long achieved a national unity. It did not seem to be suitable for countries in which the national unity was only a matter of decades, like Germany and Italy. There it proved a failure and had to make way for Fascism.

The Parliament, speaking in general, in spite of its drawbacks, is yet a useful public arena. People can see which members are able to talk sense and also to some extent how they live and behave. It is a good school for future ministers and leaders, apart from indicating in general lines the desires of the people. The main weakness of the system however, because it does not agree with the fact of the

cultural hierarchy, lies in the equality of vote and the majority principle. The right of the majority is only a subtle form of the right of the strongest and has no philosophical foundation. Perhaps, one could even say that it is more likely, if there were no party voting, for the minority to be right in its insight and decision, because the people of the highest cultural class are sure to form a minority! Which does not mean that the principles of equality of vote and majority-right have to be sacrificed for something which is equally little in accordance with the fact of the cultural hierarchy, like Fascism, National-Socialism, and Communism.

Of the various modern democracies, the monarchies seem to have attained the greatest social harmony<sup>1</sup>. A royal house may be, as I already mentioned, a focal point of national tradition and culture and form the stable super-political factor in the background of life. Where rulers or royal families allowed their personal life to be divorced from the respect

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<sup>1</sup> Together with Switzerland, that splendid republic with great national tradition.

—an institution which would consist of great experts, not appointed by mandate, but chosen on the merit of their eminence and capability, and which would be independent of national influences. Its task would be the tracing of the elements of an organization of world-economics and their durable adaptation to the ever-changing economic factors. It would have to show to mankind and in particular also to Eastern nations that the West has the power to rise beyond the material, that it does not want to and will not go under in the struggles of dissension, that it is possible to find rational solutions for the great problems that divide the nations: concerning raw materials, capital and labour. The letter shows a luminous spirit and is a sign of the times, of great promise.

The future belongs to youth, and to the youthful spirit of the older generations. It is the young men of to-day who hold within their hands the first plans and the building material for the World-State to come. May they realize

their responsibility and their inexpressible privilege. May their hearts burn with the noble idealism to sacrifice all for that vision of a united humanity. May the scouts of all races, the students of all nations, the young comrades of all the world join hands in building at this one universal temple of humanity. the World-State. It is the supreme and ultimate need of mankind. All needs are comprised in it, all ideals are subservient to it, all human striving is meant to lead up to it.

It is the young women of to-day on whose hearts is laid the often sacrificing but always joyful task of inspiring men and uninterruptedly pointing to the goal, with their eyes on their children, and the children of their children to come to benefit from the gifts of peace, security and prosperity and the consequent blessings of culture in religion, art and science.

The world is beginning to realize that it is starving. It is starving for reality, for light and love, for security and harmony, for a steady and all-embracing ideal. The world is suffering deeply in.

its starvation. In this time of economic and political difficulties, it seems almost ridiculous to refer to religion, to self-realization, to a kingdom-of-heaven-on-earth. But humanity has again to find Divinity within the depths of its heart. It has again to realize the mystic meaning of its own being. Humanity. It has again to explore the secrets within its own psychology. It has again to see that in the unconscious of every person are present all four Varnas, waiting for unfoldment. It has again to have insight in the organic nature of the cultural hierarchy within the community. It has again to see that in spite of the thousand-and-one superficial differences in the human family, there is at heart sameness and unity. It has again to realize that though the paths are as many as the number of individuals on this earth, there is yet a common interest and a common goal.

In short, man must again find his basis, the rock to stand upon in the sacred recess of his heart. Then he will vision the goal and receive power to strive



towards it. Then he will master the world instead of being mastered by it and dragged along in a mad rush. Then he will win happiness.

He has begun once more, he is on the road.

It is only Now we can work. Only Now we can do something. Only Now we can build. Only Now we can create. Only Now we can experience that which is beyond time. Only Now we can feel pleasure — happiness — and supreme joy.

The Now is very subtle. Yet it is the only reality. The past is past help, the future may never come. But Now is at our disposal. Let us be practical. Now. Let us begin with working at our own self. Let us begin by doing our own job.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR :

## DHARMA AND SOCIETY

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